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THE

WORKS

QF.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. VIII.

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A

LETTER

FROM THE

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE,

TO

A NOBLE LORD,

ON THE

ATTACKS MADE UPON HIM AND HIS PENSION, IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

BY

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

AND THE

EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

Early in the present Sessions of Parliament.

1796.

Vol. VIII.

В

LETTER, &c.

MY LORD,

I COULD hardly flatter myself with the hope, that so very early in the season I should have to acknowledge obligations to the duke of Bedford and to the earl of Lauderdale. These noble persons have lost no time in conferring upon me, that fort of honour, which it is alone within their competence, and which it is certainly most congenial to their nature and their manners to bestow.

To be ill spoken of, in whatever language they speak, by the zealots of the new sect in philosophy and politicks, of which these noble persons think so charitably, and of which others think so justly, to me, is no matter of uneasincs or surprise. To have incurred the displeasure of the duke of Orleans or the duke of Bedford, to fall under the censure of citizen Brissot or of his friend the earl of Lauderdale, I ought to consider as proofs, not the least satisfactory, that I have produced some part of the effect I proposed by my endeavours. I have laboured hard to earn, what

the noble Lords are generous enough to pay. Perfonal offence I have given them none. The part they take against me is from zeal to the cause. It is well! It is perfectly well! I have to do homage to their justice. I have to thank the Bedfords and the Lauderdales for having so faithfully and so fully acquitted towards me whatever arrear of debt was left undischarged by the Priestleys and the Paines.

Some, perhaps, may think them executors in their own wrong: I at least have nothing to complain of. They have gone beyond the demands of justice. They have been (a little perhaps beyond their intention) favourable to me. They have been the means of bringing out, by their invectives, the handsome things which lord Grenville has had the goodness and condescension to fay in my behalf. Retired as I am from the world, and from all its affairs and all its pleasures, I confess it does kindle, in my nearly extinguished feelings, a very vivid fatisfaction to be so attacked and fo commended. It is foothing to my wounded mind, to be commended by an able, vigorous, and well informed statesman, and at the very moment when he stands forth with a manliness and resolution, worthy of himself and of his cause, for the prefervation of the person and government of our fovereign, and therein for the fecurity of the laws, the liberties, the morals, and the lives of his people.

people. To be in any fair way connected with such things, is indeed a distinction. No philosophy can make me above it: no melancholy can depress me so low, as to make me wholly insensible to such an honour.

Why will they not let me remain in obscurity and inaction? Are they apprehensive, that if an atom of me remains, the sect has something to fear? Must I be annihilated, lest, like old John Zisca's, my skin might be made into a drum, to animate Europe to eternal battle, against a tyranny that threatens to overwhelm all Europe, and all the human race?

My lord, it is a subject of awful meditation. Before this of France, the annals of all time have not furnished an instance of a complete revolution. That revolution feems to have extended even to the constitution of the mind of man. It has this of wonderful in it, that it resembles what lord Verulam fays of the operations of nature: It was perfect, not only in its elements and principles, but in all its members and its organs from the very beginning. The moral scheme of France furnishes the only pattern ever known, which they who admire will instantly resemble. It is indeed an inexhaustible repertory of one kind of examples. In my wretched condition, though hardly to be classed with the living, I am not fafe from them. have tygers to fall upon animated strength. They have

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have hyenas to prey upon carcasses. The national menagerie is collected by the first physiologists of the time; and it is defective in no description of favage nature. They purfue, even fuch as me, into the obscurest retreats, and haul them before their revolutionary tribunals. Neither fex, nor age—nor the fanctuary of the tomb, is facred to them. They have fo determined a hatred to all privileged orders, that they deny even to the departed, the sad immunities of the grave. They are not wholly without an object. Their turpitude purveys to their malice; and they unplumb the dead for bullets to affaffinate the living. revolutionists were not proof against all caution, I should recommend it to their consideration, that no persons were ever known in history, either sacred or profane, to vex the sepulchre, and by their forceries, to call up the prophetick dead, with any other event, than the prediction of their own disastrous fate.-" Leave me, oh leave me to repose!"

In one thing I can excuse the duke of Bedford for his attack upon me and my mortuary pension. He cannot readily comprehend the transaction he condemns. What I have obtained was the fruit of no bargain; the production of no intrigue; the result of no compromise; the effect of no solicitation. The sirst suggestion of it never came from me, mediately or immediately, to his majesty or any

any of his ministers. It was long known that the instant my engagements would permit it, and beforce the heaviest of all calamities had for ever condemned me to obscurity and forrow, I had refolved on a total retreat. I had executed that defign. I was entirely out of the way of ferving or of hurting any statesman, or any party, when the ministers so generously and so nobly carried into effect the spontaneous bounty of the crown. descriptions have acted as became them. I could no longer ferve them, the ministers have confidered my fituation. When I could no longer hurt them, the revolutionists have trampled on my infirmity. My gratitude, I trust, is equal to the manner in which the benefit was conferred. It came to me indeed, at a time of life, and in a state of mind and body, in which no circumstance of fortune could afford me any real pleasure. But this was no fault in the royal donor, or in his ministers, who were pleased, in acknowledging the merits of an invalid fervant of the publick, to affuage the forrows of a defolate old man.

It would ill become me to boast of any thing. It would as ill become me, thus called upon, to depreciate the value of a long life, spent with unexampled toil in the service of my country. Since the total body of my services, on account of the industry which was shewn in them, and the fairness of my intentions, have obtained the accept-

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ance

ance of my fovereign, it would be abfurd in meto range myself on the side of the duke of Bedford and the corresponding society, or, as far as in melies, to permit a dispute on the rate at which the authority appointed by our constitution to estimate such things, has been pleased to set them.

Loofe libels ought to be passed by in silence and contempt. By me they have been so always. knew that as long as I remained in publick, I fhould live down the calumnies of malice, and the judgments of ignorance. If I happened to be now and then in the wrong, as who is not, like all other men, I must bear the consequence of my faults and my mistakes. The libels of the present day, are just of the same stuff as the libels of the past. But they derive an importance from the rank of the persons they come from, and the gravity of the place where they were uttered. fome way or other I ought to take fome notice of them. To affert myfelf thus traduced is not vanity or arrogance. It is a demand of justice; it is a demonstration of gratitude. If I am unworthy, the ministers are worse than prodigal. that hypothesis, I perfectly agree with the duke of Bedford.

For whatever I have been (I am now no more) I put myfelf on my country. I ought to be allowed a reasonable freedom, because I stand upon my deliverance; and no culprit ought to plead in irons.

Even

Even in the utmost latitude of defensive liberty, I wish to preserve all possible decorum. Whatever it may be in the eyes of these noble persons themselves, to me, their fituation calls for the most profound respect. If I should happen to trespass a little, which I trust I shall not, let it always be supposed, that a confusion of characters may produce mistakes; that in the masquerades of the grand carnival of our age, whimfical adventures happen; odd things are faid and pass off. If I should fail a single point in the high respect I owe to those illustrious persons, I cannot be supposed to mean the duke of Bedford and the earl of Lauderdale of the house of peers, but the duke of Bedford and the earl of Lauderdale of palace-yard; -The dukes and earls of Brentford. There they are on the pavement; there they feem to come nearer to my humble level; and, virtually at least, to have waved their high privilege.

Making this protestation, I refuse all revolutionary tribunals, where men have been put to death for no other reason, than that they had obtained favours from the crown. I claim, not the letter, but the spirit of the old English law, that is, to be tried by my peers. I decline his grace's jurisdiction as a judge. I challenge the duke of Bedford as a juror to pass upon the value of my services. Whatever his natural parts may be, I cannot recognise in his few and idle years, the competence

competence to judge of my long and laborious life. If I can help it, he shall not be on the inquest of my quantum meruit. Poor rich man! He can hardly know any thing of publick industry in its exertions, or can estimate its compensations when its work is done. I have no doubt of his grace's readiness in all the calculations of vulgar arithmetick; but I shrewdly suspect, that he is little studied in the theory of moral proportions; and has never learned the rule of three in the arithmetick of policy and state.

His grace thinks I have obtained too much. I answer, that my exertions, whatever they have been, were fuch as no hopes of pecuniary reward could possibly excite; and no pecuniary compenfation can possibly reward them. Between money and fuch fervices, if done by abler men than I am, there is no common principle of comparison: they are quantities incommensurable. Money is made for the comfort and convenience of animal life. It cannot be a reward for what, mere animal life must indeed sustain, but never can inspire. fubmission to his grace, I have not had more than fusicient. As to any noble use, I trust I know how to employ, as well as he, a much greater fortune than he possesses. In a more confined application, I certainly stand in need of every kind of relief and casement much more than he does. When I say I have not received more than I de-· ferve.

ferve, is this the language I hold to majefty? No! Far, very far, from it! Before that presence, I claim no merit at all. Every thing towards me is favour, and bounty. One flyle to a gracious benefactor; another to a proud and infulting foe.

His grace is pleafed to aggravate my guilt, by charging my acceptance of his majesty's grant as a departure from my ideas, and the spirit of my conduct with regard to economy. If it be, my ideas of economy were false and ill founded. But they are the duke of Bedford's ideas of economy I have contradicted, and not my own. means to allude to certain bills brought in by me on a message from the throne in 1782, I tell him, that there is nothing in my conduct that can contradict either the letter or the spirit of those acts. Does he mean the pay-office act? I take it for granted he does not. The act to which he alludes is, I suppose, the establishment act. I greatly doubt whether his grace has ever read the one or the other. The first of these systems cost me, with every affiftance which my then fituation gave me, pains incredible. I found an opinion common through all the offices, and general in the publick at large, that it would prove impossible to reform and methodize the office of paymaster general. I undertook it, however; and I fucceeded in my undertaking. Whether the military fervice, or whether the general oconomy of our finances have profited

profited by that act, I leave to those who are acquainted with the army, and with the treasury, to judge.

An opinion full as general prevailed also at the same time, that nothing could be done for the regulation of the civil-list establishment. The very attempt to introduce method into it, and any limitations to its services, was held absurd. I had not seen the man, who so much as suggested one economical principle, or an economical expedient, upon that subject. Nothing but coarse amputation, or coarser taxation, were then talked of, both of them without design, combination, or the least shadow of principle. Blind and headlong zeal, or factious sury, were the whole contribution brought by the most noisy on that occasion, towards the satisfaction of the publick, or the relief of the crown.

Let me tell my youthful cenfor, that the neceffities of that time required fomething very different from what others then fuggested, or what his grace now conceives. Let me inform him, that it was one of the most critical periods in our annals.

Astronomers have supposed, that if a certain comet, whose path intersected the ecliptick, had met the earth in some (I forget what) sign, it would have whirled us along with it, in its eccentrick course, into God knows what regions of heat

and

and cold. Had the portentous comet of the rights of man, (which "from its horrid hair shakes "pestilence, and war," and "with fear of change "perplexes monarchs") had that comet crossed upon us in that internal state of England, nothing human could have prevented our being irresistibly hurried, out of the highway of heaven, into all the vices, crimes, horrours and miseries of the French revolution.

Happily, France was not then jacobinised. Her hostility was at a good distance. We had a limb cut off; but we preserved the body: We lost our colonies; but we kept our constitution. There was, indeed, much intestine heat; there was a dreadful fermentation. Wild and savage insurrection quitted the woods, and prowled about our streets in the name of reform. Such was the distemper of the publick mind, that there was no madman, in his maddest ideas, and maddest projects, who might not count upon numbers to support his principles and execute his designs.

Many of the changes, by a great misnomer called parliamentary reforms, went, not in the intention of all the professors and supporters of them, undoubtedly, but went in their certain, and, in my opinion, not very remote effect, home to the utter destruction of the constitution of this kingdom. Had they taken place, not France, but England, would have had the honour of leading

up the death-dance of democratick revolution. Other projects, exactly coincident in time with those, struck at the very existence of the kingdom under any conftitution. There are who remember the blind fury of fome, and the lamentable helpleffness of others; here, a torpid confusion, from a panick fear of the danger; there, the fame inaction from a stupid insensibility to it; here, wellwishers to the mischief; there, indifferent lookerson. At the fame time, a fort of national convention, dubious in its nature, and perilous in its example, noted parliament in the very feat of its authority; fat with a fort of fuperintendance over it; and little less than dicrated to it, not only laws, but the very form and essence of legislature itfelf. In Ireland things ran in a still more eccentrick course. Government was unnerved. confounded, and in a manner fuspended. poife was totally gone. I do not mean to fpeak difrespectfully of lord North. He was a man of admirable parts; of general knowledge; of a verfatile understanding fitted for every fort of businefs; of infinite wit and pleafantry; of a delightful temper; and with a mind most perfectly difinterested. But it would be only to degrade myfelf by a weak adulation, and not to honour the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted fomething of the vigilance and spirit of command, that the time required. Indeed, a darkness, next

to the fog of this awful day, loured over the whole region. For a little time the helm appeared abandoned—

Ipse diem noctemque negat discernere ewlo Nec meminisse viæ media Palinurus in undå.

At that time I was connected with men of high place in the community. They loved liberty as much as the duke of Bedford can do; and they understood it at least as well. Perhaps their politicks, as usual took a tincture from their character, and they cultivated what they loved. The liberty they purfued was a liberty inseparable from order, from virtue, from morals, and from religion, and was neither hypocritically nor fanatically followed. They did not wish, that liberty, in itfelf, one of the first of blessings, should in its perversion become the greatest curse which could fall upon mankind. To preserve the constitution entire, and practically equal to all the great ends of its formation, not in one fingle part, but in all its parts, was to them the first object. Popularity and power they regarded alike. These were with them only different means of obtaining that object; and had no preference over each other in their minds, but as one or the other might afford a furer or a less certain prospect of arriving at that end. It is some consolation to me in the cheerless gloom,

gloom, which darkens the evening of my life, that with them I commenced my political career, and never for a moment, in reality, nor in appearance, for any length of time, was separated from their good wishes and good opinion.

By what accident it matters not, nor upon what desert, but just then, and in the midst of that hunt of obloquy, which ever has purfued me with a full cry through life, I had obtained a very confiderable degree of publick confidence. I know well enough how equivocal a test this kind of popular opinion forms of the merit that obtained it. stranger to the insecurity of its tenure. I do not boast of it. It is mentioned, to shew, not how highly I prize the thing, but my right to value the use I made of it. I endeavoured to turn that fhort-lived advantage to myself into a permanent benefit to my country. Far am I from detracting from the merit of some gentlemen, out of office or in it, on that occasion. No !-- It is not my way to refuse a full and heaped measure of justice to the aids that I receive. I have, through life, been willing to give every thing to others; and to referve nothing for myself, but the inward conscience, that I had omitted no pains, to discover, to animate, to discipline, to direct the abilities of the country for its fervice, and to place them in the best light to improve their age, or to adorn it. This conscience I have. I have never suppressed

any man; never checked him for a moment in his course, by any jealousy, or by any policy. I was always ready, to the height of my means (and they were always infinitely below my defires) to forward those abilities which overpowered my own. He is an ill-furnished undertaker, who has no machinery but his own hands to work with. Poor in my own faculties, I ever thought myself tich in theirs. In that period of difficulty and danger, more especially, I consulted, and sincerely co-operated with men of all parties, who feemed disposed to the same ends, or to any main part of them. Nothing, to prevent disorder, was omitted: when it appeared, nothing to fubdue it was left uncounfelled, nor unexecuted, as far as I could prevail. At the time I speak of, and having a momentary lead, so aided and so encouraged, and as a feeble instrument in a mighty hand—I do not fay, I faved my country; I am fure I did my country important service. There were few, indeed, that did not at that time acknowledge it, and that time was thirteen years ago. It was but one voice, that no man in the kingdom better deferved an honourable provision should be made for him.

So much for my general conduct through the whole of the portentous criss from 1780 to 1782, and the general sense then entertained of that conduct by my country. But my character, as a Vol. VIII. C reformer.

reformer, in the particular instances which the duke of Bedford refers to, is so connected in principle with my opinions on the hideous changes, which have since barbarized France, and spreading thence, threaten the political and moral order of the whole world, that it seems to demand something of a more detailed discussion.

My œconomical reforms were not, as his grace may think, the suppression of a paltry pension or employment, more or less. Œconomy in my plans was, as it ought to be, fecondary, fubordinate, instrumental. I acted on state principles. I found a great distemper in the commonwealth; and, according to the nature of the evil and of the object, I treated it. The malady was deep; it was complicated, in the causes and in the symptoms. Throughout it was full of contra-indicants. On one hand government, daily growing more invidious from an apparent increase of the means of strength, was every day growing more contemptible by real weakness. Nor was this disfolution confined to government commonly fo called. It extended to parliament; which was lofing not a little in its dignity and estimation, by an opinion of its not acting on worthy motives. On the other hand, the desires of the people, (partly natural and partly infused into them by art) appeared in fo wild and inconfiderate a manner, with regard to the economical object (for I fet

I set aside for a moment the dreadful tampering with the body of the constitution itself) that if their petitions had literally been complied with, the state would have been convulsed; and a gate would have been opened, through which all property might be facked and ravaged. Nothing could have faved the publick from the mischiefs of the false reform but its absurdity; which would foon have brought itself, and with it all real reform, into discredit. This would have left a rankling wound in the hearts of the people, who would know they had failed in the accomplishment of their wishes, but who, like the rest of mankind in all ages, would impute the blame to any thing rather than to their own proceedings. But there were then persons in the world, who nourished complaint; and would have been thoroughly difappointed if the people were ever fatisfied. not of that humour. I wished that they should be fatisfied. It was my aim to give to the people the fubstance of what I knew they defired, and what I thought was right whether they defired it or not, before it had been modified for them into fenfeless petitions. I knew that there is a manifest marked distinction, which ill men, with ill designs, or weak men incapable of any delign, will conftantly be confounding, that is, a marked distinction between change and reformation. The former alters the fubstance of the objects themselves; and gets rid

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of

of all their effential good, as well as of all the accidental evil annexed to them. Change is novelty; and whether it is to operate any one of the effects of reformation at all, or whether it may not contradict the very principle upon which reformation is defired, cannot be certainly known before hand. Reform is, not a change in the substance, or in the primary modification of the object, but a direct application of a remedy to the grievance complained of. So far as that is removed, all is sure. It stops there; and if it fails, the substance which underwent the operation, at the very worst, is but where it was.

All this, in effect, I think, but am not fure, I have faid elsewhere. It cannot at this time be too often repeated; line upon line; precept upon precept; until it comes into the currency of a proverb, to innovate is not to reform. The French revolutionists complained of every thing; they refused to reform any thing; and they left nothing, no, nothing at all unchanged. The consequences are before us, -not in remote history; not in future prognoftication: they are about us; they are upon us. They shake the publick security; they menace private enjoyment. They dwarf the growth of the young; they break the quiet of the old. If we travel, they stop our way. They infest us in town; they pursue us to the country. Our business is interrupted; our repose is troubled;

our

our pleasures are saddened; our very studies are poisoned and perverted, and knowledge is rendered worse than ignorance, by the enormous evils of this dreadful innovation. The revolution harpies of France, fprung from night and hell, or from that chaotick anarchy, which generates equivocally " all monstrous, all prodigious things," cuckoolike, adulterously lay their eggs, and brood over, and hatch them in the nest of every neighbouring state. These obscene harpies, who deck themselves, in I know not what divine attributes, but who in reality are foul and ravenous birds of prey (both mothers and daughters) flutter over our heads, and fouse down upon our tables, and leave nothing unrent, unrifled, unravaged, or unpolluted with the flime of their filthy offal.*

Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sevior ulla Pestis, & ira Deum Stygiis sese extulit undis. Virginei volucrum vultus; fædissima ventris Proluvies; uncæque manus; & pallida semper Ora same-----

Here the Poet breaks the line, because he (and that He is Virgil) had not verse or language to describe that monster even as he had conceived her. Had he lived to our time, he would have been more overpowered with the reality than he was with the imagination. Virgil only knew the horrour of the times before him. Had he lived to see the revolutionists and constitutionalists of France, he would have had more horrid and difgusting seatures of his harpies to describe, and more frequent failures in the attempt to describe them,

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If his grace can contemplate the refult of this complete innovation, or, as some friends of his will call it, reform, in the whole body of its solidity and compound mass, at which, as Hamlet says, the sace of heaven glows with horrour and indignation, and which, in truth, makes every reflecting mind, and every feeling heart, perfectly thought-sick, without a thorough abhorrence of every thing they say, and every thing they do, I am amazed at the morbid strength, or the natural infirmity of his mind.

It was then not my love, but my hatred to innovation, that produced my plan of reform. Without troubling myself with the exactness of the logical diagram, I confidered them as things fubstantially opposite. It was to prevent that evil, that I proposed the measures, which his grace is pleafed, and I am not forry he is pleafed, to recal to my recollection. I had (what I hope that noble duke will remember in all his operations) a state to preserve, as well as a state to reform. I had a people to gratify, but not to inflame, or to mislead. I do not claim half the credit for what I did, as for what I prevented from being done. In that fituation of the publick mind, I did not undertake, as was then proposed, to new model the house of commons or the house of lords; or to change the authority under which any officer of the crown acted, who was fuffered at all to exist. Crown, lords, commons, judicial fustem, system of administration,

nistration, existed as they had existed before; and in the mode and manner in which they had always existed. My measures were, what I then truly stated them to the house to be, in their intent, healing and mediatorial. A complaint was made of too much influence in the house of commons; I reduced it in both houses; and I gave my reafons article by article for every reduction, and shewed why I thought it safe for the service of the state. I heaved the lead every inch of way I made. A disposition to expence was complained of; to that I opposed, not mere retrenchment, but a system of œconomy, which would make a random expence without plan or forefight, in future not easily practicable. I proceeded upon principles of refearch to put me in possession of my matter; on principles of method to regulate it; and on principles in the human mind and in civil affairs to fecure and perpetuate the operation. I conceived nothing arbitrarily; nor proposed any thing to be done by the will and pleasure of others, or my own; but by reason, and by reason only. I have ever abhorred, fince the first dawn of my understanding to this its obscure twilight, all the operations of opinion, fancy, inclination, and will, in the affairs of government, where only a fovereign reafon, paramount to all forms of legislation and administration, should dictate. Government is made for the very purpose of opposing that reason to will C 4

will and to caprice, in the reformers or in the reformed, in the governors or in the governed, in kings, in fenates, or in people.

On a careful review, therefore, and analysis of all the component parts of the civil lift, and on weighing them against each other, in order to make, as much as possible, all of them a subject of estimate (the foundation and corner-stone of all regular provident œconomy) it appeared to me evident, that this was impracticable, whilst that part, called the pension list, was totally discretionary in its amount. For this reason, and for this only, I proposed to reduce it, both in its gross quantity, and in its larger individual proportions, to a certainty: lest, if it were left without a general limit, it might eat up the civil lift service; if suffered to be granted in portions too great for the fund, it might defeat its own end; and by unlimited allowances to some, it might disable the crown in means of providing for others. The pension list was to be kept as a facred fund; but it could not be kept as a conftant open fund, sufficient for growing demands, if some demands would wholly devour it. The tenour of the act will shew that it regarded the civil list only, the reduction of which to some fort of estimate was my great object.

No other of the crown funds did I meddle with, because they had not the same relations. This of the four and a half per cents does his grace imagine

gine had escaped me, or had escaped all the men of business, who acted with me in those regulations? I knew that fuch a fund existed, and that pensions had been always granted on it, before his grace was born. This fund was full in my eye. It was full in the eyes of those who worked with me. It was left on principle. On principle I did what was then done; and on principle what was left undone was omitted. I did not dare to rob the nation of all funds to reward merit. If I pressed this point too close, I acted contrary to the avowed principles on which I went. Gentlemen are very fond of quoting me; but if any one thinks it worth his while to know the rules that guided me in my plan of reform, he will read my printed speech on that fubject; at least what is contained from page 230 to page 241 in the fecond volume of the collection which a friend has given himself the trouble to make of my publications. Be this as it may, these two bills (though achieved with the greatest labour, and management of every fort, both within and without the house) were only a part, and but a fmall part, of a very large fystem, comprehending all the objects I stated in opening my proposition, and indeed many more, which I just hinted at in my speech to the electors of Bristol, when I was put out of that representation. All these, in some state or other of forwardness, I have long had by me.

But

But do I justify his majesty's grace on these grounds? I think them the least of my services! The time gave them an occasional value: What I have done in the way of political economy was far from confined to this body of measures. I did not come into parliament to con my lesson. I had earned my pension before I set my foot in St. Stephen's chapel. I was prepared and disciplined to this political warfare. The first session I sat in parliament, I found it necessary to analyze the whole commercial, financial, constitutional and foreign interests of Great Britain and its empire. A great deal was then done; and more, far more would have been done, if more had been permitted by events. Then in the vigour of my manhood, my conflitution funk under my labour. Had I then died, (and I seemed to myself very near death) I had then earned for those who belonged to me, more than the duke of Bedford's ideas of fervice are of power to estimate. But in truth, these services I am called to account for, are not those on which I value myself the most. If I were to call for a reward (which I have never done) it should be for those in which for fourteen years, without intermission, I shewed the most industry, and had the least success; I mean in the affairs of India. They are those on which I value myself the most; most for the importance; most for the labour; most for the judgment; most for constancy and perseverance

perseverance in the pursuit. Others may value them most for the *intention*. In that, furely, they are not mistaken.

Does his grace think, that they who advised the crown to make my retreat eafy, confidered me only as an economist? That, well understood, however, is a good deal. If I had not deemed it of some value, I should not have made political economy an object of my humble studies, from my very early youth to near the end of my fervice in parliament, even before (at least to any knowledge of mine) it had employed the thoughts of speculative men in other parts of Europe. At that time it was still in its infancy in England, where, in the last century, it had its origin. Great and learned men thought my studies were not wholly thrown away, and deigned to communicate with me now and then on some particulars of their immortal works. Something of these studies may appear incidentally in some of the earliest things I published. The house has been witness to their effect, and has profited of them more or less, for above eight and twenty years.

To their estimate I leave the matter. I was not, like his grace of Bedford, swaddled, and rocked, and dandled into a legislator; "Nitor in adversum" is the motto for a man like me. I possessed not one of the qualities, nor cultivated one of the arts, that recommend men to the favour and protection

οf

of the great. I was not made for a minion or a tool. As little did I follow the trade of winning the hearts, by impoling on the understandings, of the people. At every step of my progress in life (for in every step was I traversed and opposed), and at every turnpike I met, I was obliged to show my paffport, and again and again to prove my fole title to the honour of being useful to my country, by a proof that I was not wholly unacquainted with its laws, and the whole system of its interests both abroad and at home. Otherwise no rank, no toleration even, for me. I had no arts, but manly On them I have stood, and, please God, in fpite of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Lauderdale, to the last gasp will I stand.

Had his grace condescended to inquire concerning the person, whom he has not thought it below him to reproach, he might have found, that in the whole course of my life, I have never, on any pretence of economy, or on any other pretence, so much as in a single instance, stood between any man and his reward of service, or his encouragement in useful talent and pursuit, from the highest of those services and pursuits to the lowest. On the contrary I have, on a hundred occasions, exerted myself with singular zeal to forward every man's even tolerable pretensions. I have more than once had good-natured reprehensions from my friends for carrying the matter to something bordering

bordering on abuse. This line of conduct, whatever its merits might be, was partly owing to natural disposition; but I think full as much to reafon and principle. I looked on the confideration of publick fervice, or publick ornament, to be real and very justice: and I ever held a scanty and penurious justice to partake of the nature of a wrong. I held it to be, in its consequences, the worst economy in the world. In faving money, I foon can count up all the good I do; but when by a cold senury, I blast the abilities of a nation, and stunt the growth of its active energies, the ill I may do is beyond all calculation. Whether it be too much or too little, whatever I have done has been general and fystematick. I have never entered into those trifling vexations and oppressive details, that have been falfely, and most ridiculously laid to my charge.

Did I blame the pensions given to Mr. Barré and Mr. Dunning between the proposition and execution of my plan? No! furely no! Those pensions were within my principles. I affert it, those gentlemen deserved their pensions, their titles—all they had; and more had they had, I should have been but pleased the more. They were men of talents; they were men of service. I put the profession of the law out of the question in one of them. It is a fervice that rewards itself. But their publick service, though, from their abilities unquestionably of more value.

value than mine, in its quantity and in its duration was not to be mentioned with it. But I never could drive a hard bargain in my life, concerning any matter whatever; and least of all do I know how to haggle and huckster with merit. Pension for myself I obtained none; nor did I solicit any. Yet I was loaded with hatred for every thing that was withheld, and with obloquy for every thing that was given. I was thus left to support the grants of a name ever dear to me, and ever venerable to the world, in favour of those, who were no friends of mine or of his, against the rude attacks of those who were at that time friends to the grantees, and their own zealous partifans. never heard the earl of Lauderdale complain of these pensions. He finds nothing wrong till he comes to me. This is impartiality, in the true modern revolutionary style.

Whatever I did at that time, so far as it regarded order and economy, is stable and eternal; as all principles must be. A particular order of things may be altered; order itself cannot lose its value. As to other particulars, they are variable by time and by circumstances. Laws of regulation are not fundamental laws. The publick exigencies are the masters of all such laws. They rule the laws, and are not to be ruled by them. They who exercise the legislative power at the time must judge.

It may be new to his grace, but I beg leave to tell him,

him, that mere parlimony is not œconomy. It is separable in theory from it; and in fact it may, or it may not, be a part of economy, according to circumstances. Expence, and great expence, may be an effential part in true economy. If parfimony were to be confidered as one of the kinds of that virtue, there is however another and an higher economy. Economy is a distributive virtue, and confifts not in faving, but in felection. Parsimony requires no providence, no fagacity, no powers of combination, no comparison, no judgment. Mere instinct, and that not an instinct of the noblest kind, may produce this false economy in persection. The other economy has larger views. It demands a discriminating judgment, and a firm sagacious mind. It shuts one door to impudent importunity, only to open another, and a wider, to unprefuming merit. If none but meritorious service or real talent were to be rewarded, this nation has not wanted, and this nation will not want, the means of rewarding all the service it ever will receive, and encouraging all the merit it ever will produce. No state, fince the foundation of society, has been impoverished by that species of profusion. Had the economy of felection and proportion been at all times observed, we should not now have had an overgrown duke of Bedford, to oppress the indus-. try of humble men, and to limit by the standard of

of his own conceptions, the justice, the bounty, or, if he pleases, the charity of the crown.

His grace may think as meanly as he will of my deferts in the far greater part of my conduct in It is free for him to do fo. There will always be some difference of opinion in the value of political fervices. But there is one merit of mine, which he, of all men living, ought to be the last to call in question. I have supported with very great zeal, and I am told with some degree of success, those opinions, or if his grace likes another expression better, those old prejudices which buoy up the ponderous mass of his nobility, wealth, and titles. I have omitted no exertion to prevent him and them from finking to that level, to which the meretricious French faction, his grace at least coquets with, omit no exertion to reduce both. I have done all I could to discountenance their inquiries into the fortunes of those, who hold large portions of wealth without any apparent merit of their own. I have strained every nerve to keep the duke of Bedford in that fituation, which alone makes him my fuperiour. Your lordship has been a witness of the use he makes of that pre-eminènces

be it, that this is virtue! Be it, that there is virtue in this well felected rigour; yet all virtues are not equally becoming to all men and at all times.

times. There are crimes, undoubtedly there are crimes, which in all seasons of our existence, ought to put a generous antipathy in action; crimes that provoke an indignant justice, and call forth a warm and animated pursuit. But all things, that concern, what I may call, the preventive police of morality, all things merely rigid, harsh and cenforial, the antiquated moralists, at whose feet I was brought up, would not have thought these the fittest matter to form the favourite virtues of young men of rank. What might have been well enough, and have been received with a veneration mixed with awe and terrour, from an old, fevere, crabbed Cato, would have wanted fomething of propriety in the young Scipios, the ornament of the Roman nobility, in the flower of their life. But the times, the morals, the masters, the scholars have all undergone a thorough revolution. It is a vile illiberal school; this new French academy of the fans culottes. There is nothing in it that is fit for a gentleman to learn.

Whatever its vogue may be, I still flatter myself, that the parents of the growing generation
will be satisfied with what is to be taught to their
children in Westminster, in Eton, or in Winchester: I still indulge the hope that no grown
gentleman or nobleman of our time will think of
sinishing at Mr. Thelwall's lecture whatever may
have been lest incomplete at the old universities of
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his country. I would give to lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt for a motto, what was faid of a Roman censor or prætor (or what was he), who in virtue of a Senatus consultum that up certain academies,

"Cludere ludum impadentiæ jussit."

Every honest father of a family in the kingdom will rejoice at the breaking up for the holidays, and will pray that there may be a very long vacation in all such schools.

The awful state of the time, and not myself or my own justification, is my true object in what I now write; or in what I shall ever write or say. It little signifies to the world what becomes of such things as me, or even as the duke of Bedford. What I say about either of us is nothing more than a vehicle, as you, my lord, will easily perceive, to convey my sentiments on matters far more worthy of your attention. It is when I stick to my apparent sirst subject that I ought to apologize, not when I depart from it. I therefore must beg your lordship's pardon for again resuming it after this very short digression; assuring you that I shall never altogether lose sight of such matter as persons abler than I am may turn to some prosit.

The duke of Bedford conceives, that he is obliged to call the attention of the house of peers to his majesty's grant to me, which he considers as excessive and out of all bounds.

I know

I know not how it has happened, but it really feems, that, whilft his grace was meditating his well-considered censure upon me, he fell into 2 fort of fleep. Homer nods; and the duke of Bed+ ford may dream; and as dreams (even his golden dreams) are apt to be ill-pleced and incongruously put together, his grace preserved his idea of reproach to me, but took the subject-matter from the crown-grants to his own family. This is "the stuff " of which his dreams are made." In that way of putting things together his grace is perfectly in the right. The grants to the house of Russel were so enormous, as not only to outrage economy, but even to stagger credibility. The duke of Bedford is the leviathan among all the creatures of the crown. He tumbles about his unwieldy bulk; he plays and frolicks in the ocean of the royal bounty. Huge as he is, and whilst "he lies float-" ing many a rood," he is still a creature. His ribs, his fins, his whalebone, his blubber, the very spiracles through which he spouts a torrent of brine against his origin, and covers me all over with the fpray,-every thing of him and about him is from the throne. Is it for him to question the dispenfation of the royal favour?

I really am at a loss to draw any fort of parallel between the publick merits of his grace, by which he justifies the grants he holds, and these services of mine, on the favourable construction of which I have

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I have obtained what his grace fo much disapproves. In private life, I have not at all the honour of acquaintance with the noble duke. I ought to prefume, and it costs me nothing to do fo, that he abundantly deserves the esteem and love of all who live with him. But as to publick fervice, why truly it would not be more ridiculous for me to compare myself in rank, in fortune, in splendid descent, in youth, strength, or figure, with the duke of Bedford, than to make a parallel between his fervices, and my attempts to be useful to my country. It would not be gross adulation, but uncivil irony, to fay, that he has any publick merit of his own to keep alive the idea of the fervices by which his vast landed pensions were ob-My merits, whatever they are, are original and personal; his are derivative. It is his ancestor, the original pensioner, that has laid up this inexhaustible fund of merit, which makes his grace fo very delicate and exceptious about the merit of all other grantees of the crown. Had he permitted me to remain in quiet, I should have faid 'tis his estate; that's enough. It is his by law; what have I to do with it or its history? He would naturally have faid on his fide, 'tis this man's fortune.—He is as good now, as my ancestor was two hundred and fifty years ago. I am a young man with very old pensions; he is an old man with very young penfions,—that's all.

Why

Why will his grace, by attacking me, force me reluctantly to compare my little merit with that which obtained from the crown those prodigies of profuse donation by which he tramples on the mediocrity of humble and laborious individuals? I would willingly leave him to the herald's college, which the philosophy of the fans culottes, (prouder by far than all the Garters, and Norroys and Clarencieux, and Rouge Dragons that ever pranced in a procession of what his friends call aristocrats and despots) will abolish with contumely and scorn. These historians, recorders, and blazoners of virtues and arms, differ wholly from that other description of historians, who never assign any act of politicians to a good motive. These gentle historians, on the contrary, dip their pens in nothing but the milk of human kindness. They feek no further for merit than the preamble of a patent, or the inscription on a tomb. With them every man created a peer is first an hero ready made. They judge of every man's capacity for office by the offices he has filled; and the more offices the more ability. Every general-officer with them is a Marlborough; every statesman a Burleigh; every judge a Murray or a Yorke. They, who alive, were laughed at or pitied by all their acquaintance, make as good a figure as the best of them in the pages of Guillim, Edmondson, and Collins.

To these recorders, so full of good nature to the D 3 great

great and prosperous, I would willingly leave the first baron Russel, and earl of Bedford, and the merits of his grants. But the aulnager, the weigher, the meter of grants, will not suffer us to acquiesce in the judgment of the prince reigning at the time when they were made. They are never good to those who earn them. Well then; since the new grantees have war made on them by the old, and that the word of the sovereign is not to be taken, let us turn our eyes to history, in which great men have always a pleasure in contemplating the heroick origin of their house.

· The first peer of the name, the first purchaser of the grants, was a Mr. Russel, a person of an ancient gentleman's family raised by being a minion of Henry the Eighth. As there generally is some resemblance of character to create these relations, the favourite was in all likelihood much fuch another as his mafter. The first of those immoderate grants was not taken from the ancient demeine of the crown, but from the recent confiscation of the ancient nobility of the land. kion having fucked the blood of his prey, threw the offal carcase to the jackall in waiting. Having tafted once the food of confiscation, the favourites became fierce and ravenous. This worthy favourite's first grant was from the lay nobility. The fecond, infinitely improving on the enormity of the first, was from the plunder of the church.

In

In truth his grace is somewhat excusable for his dislike to a grant like mine, not only in its quantity, but in its kind so different from his own.

Mine was from a mild and benevolent fovereign; his from Henry the Eighth.

Mine had not its fund in the murder of any innocent person of illustrious rank,* or in the pillage of any body of unossending men. His grants were from the aggregate and consolidated funds of judgments iniquitously legal, and from possessions voluntarily surrendered by the lawful proprietors with the gibbet at their door.

The merit of the grantee whom he derives from, was that of being a prompt and greedy infirument of a levelling tyrant, who oppressed all descriptions of his people, but who fell with particular fury on every thing that was great and noble. Mine has been, in endeavouring to screen every man, in every class, from oppression, and particularly in defending the high and eminent, who in the bad times of confiscating princes, consiscating chief governours, or confiscating demagogues, are the most exposed to jealousy, avarice and envy.

The merit of the original grantee of his grace's pensions, was in giving his hand to the work, and partaking the spoil with a prince, who plundered a part of the national church of his time and country.

* See the history of the melancholy catastrophe of the Duke of Buckingham. Temp. Hen. 8.

D₄ Mine

Mine was in defending the whole of the national church of my own time and my own country, and the whole of the national churches of all countries, from the principles and the examples which lead to ecclefiaftical pillage, thence to a contempt of all prescriptive titles, thence to the pillage of all property, and thence to universal desolation.

. The merit of the origin of his grace's fortune was in being a favourite and chief adviser to a prince, who left no liberty to their native country. My endeavour was to obtain liberty for the municipal country in which I was born, and for all descriptions and denominations in it. Mine was to fupport with unrelaxing vigilance every right, every privilege, every franchise, in this my adopted, my dearer and more comprehensive country; and not only to preferve those rights in this chief feat of empire, but in every nation, in every land, in every climate, language and religion, in the vast domain that still is under the protection, and the larger that was once under the protection, of the British crown.

His founder's merits were, by arts in which he ferved his mafter and made his fortune, to bring poverty, wretchedness and depopulation on his country. Mine were under a benevolent prince, in promoting the commerce, manufactures and agriculture of his kingdom; in which his majesty shews

fhews an eminent example, who even in his amusements is a patriot, and in hours of leisure an improver of his native soil.

His founder's merit, was the merit of a gentleman raised by the arts of a court, and the protection of a Wolsey, to the eminence of a great and His merit in that eminence was by potent lord. infligating a tyrant to injustice, to provoke a people to rebellion.-My merit was, to awaken the fober part of the country, that they might put themselves on their guard against any one potent lord, or any greater number of potent lords, or any combination of great leading men of any fort, if ever they should attempt to proceed in the same courses, but in the reverse order, that is, by instigating a corrupted populace to rebellion, and, through that rebellion, introducing a tyranny yet worfe than the tyranny which his grace's ancestor supported, and of which he profited in the manner we behold in the despotism of Henry the Eighth.

The political merit of the first pensioner of his grace's house, was that of being concerned as a counsellor of state in advising, and in his person executing the conditions of a dishonourable peace with France; the surrendering the fortress of Boulogne, then our out-guard on the continent. By that surrender, Calais, the key of France, and the bridle in the mouth of that power, was, not many

years

years afterwards, finally loft. My merit has been in refifting the power and pride of France, under any form of its rule; but in opposing it with the greatest zeal and earnestness, when that rule appeared in the worst form it could assume; the worst indeed which the prime cause and principle of all evil could possibly give it. It was my endeavour by every means to excite a spirit in the house, where I had the honour of a seat, for carrying on with early vigour and decision, the most clearly just and necessary war, that this or any nation ever carried on; in order to fave my country from the iron yoke of its power, and from the more dreadful contagion of its principles; to preserve, while they can be preserved, pure and untainted, the ancient, inbred integrity, piety, good nature, and good humour of the people of England, from the dreadful pestilence which beginning in France, threatens to lay waste the whole moral, and in a great degree the whole physical world, having done both in the focus of its most intense malignity.

The labours of his grace's founder merited the curses, not loud but deep, of the commons of England, on whom be and his master had effected a complete parliamentary reform, by making them in their slavery and humiliation, the true and adequate representatives of a debased, degraded, and undone people. My merits were, in having had

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an active, thought not always an oftentatious share, in every one act, without exception, of undisputed constitutional utility in my time, and in having supported on all occasions, the authority, the efficiency, and the privileges of the commons of Great. Britain. I ended my services by a recorded and sully reasoned affertion on their own journals of their constitutional rights, and a vindication of their constitutional conduct. I laboured in all things to merit their inward approbation, and (along with the assistance of the largest, the greatest, and best of my endeavours) I received their free, unbiassed, publick, and solemn thanks.

Thus flands the account of the comparative merits of the crown grants which compose the duke of Bedford's fortune as balanced against mine. In the name of common sense, why should the duke of Bedford think, that none but of the house of Russel are entitled to the favour of the crown? Why should he imagine that no king of England has been capable of judging of merit but king Henry the Eighth? Indeed, he will pardon me; he is a little mistaken; all virtue did not end in the first earl of Bedford. All discernment did not lose its vision when his creator closed his eyes. Let him remit his rigour on the disproportion between merit and reward in others, and they will make no inquiry into the origin of his fortune. They will regard with much more fatisfaction, as he

he will contemplate with infinitely more advantage, whatever in his pedigree has been dulcified by an exposure to the influence of heaven in a long flow of generations, from the hard, acidulous, metallick tincture of the fpring. It is little to be doubted, that feveral of his forefathers in that long ferics, have degenerated into honour and virtue. Let the duke of Bedford (I am fure he will) reject with fcorn and horrour, the counsels of the lecturers, those wicked panders to avarice and ambition, who would tempt him in the troubles of his country, to feek another enormous fortune from the forfeitures of another nobility, and the plunder of another church. Let him (and I trust that yet he will) employ all the energy of his youth, and all the resources of his wealth, to crush rebellious principles which have no foundation in morals, and rebellious movements that have no provocation in tyranny.

Then will be forgot the rebellions, which, by a doubtful priority in crime, his ancestor had provoked and extinguished. On such a conduct in the noble duke, many of his countrymen might, and with some excuse might, give way to the enthusiasm of their gratitude, and in the dashing style of some of the old declaimers, cry out, that if the sates had sound no other way in which they could give a * duke of Bedford and his opulence

^{*} At si non aliam venturo fata Neroni, &c.

as props to a tottering world, then the butchery of the duke of Buckingham might be tolerated; it might be regarded even with complacency, whilst in the heir of confiscation they saw the sympathizing comforter of the martyrs, who fuffer under the cruel confiscation of this day; whilst they behold with admiration his zealous protection of the virtuous and loyal nobility of France, and his manly support of his brethren, the yet flanding nobility and gentry of his native land. Then his grace's merit would be pure and new, and sharp, as fresh from the mint of honour. As he pleased he might reslect honour on his predecessors, or throw it forward on those who were to fucceed him. He might be the propagator of the stock of honour, or the root of it, as he thought proper.

Had it pleased God to continue to me the hopes of succession, I should have been according to my mediocrity, and the mediocrity of the age I live in, a fort of sounder of a family; I should have left a son, who, in all the points in which personal merit can be viewed, in science, in erudition, in genius, in taste, in honour, in generosity, in humanity, in every liberal sentiment, and every liberal accomplishment, would not have shewn himself inferiour to the duke of Bedford, or to any of those whom he traces in his line. His grace very soon would have wanted all plausibility in his attack upon

mine than to me. HE would foon have supplied every desciency, and symmetrized every disproportion. It would not have been for that successor to resort to any stagnant wasting reservoir of merit in me, or in any ancestry. He had in himself a salient, living spring, of generous and manly action. Every day he lived he would have re-purchased the bounty of the crown, and ten times more, if ten times more he had received. He was made a publick creature; and had no enjoyment whatever, but in the performance of some duty. At this exigent moment, the loss of a sinished man is not easily supplied.

But a disposer whose power we are little able to resist, and whose wisdom it behoves us not at all to dispute; has ordained it in another manner, and (whatever my querulous weakness might fuggest) a far better. The storm has gone over me; and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours; I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth! There, and prostrate there, I most unfeignedly recognise the di-'vine justice, and in some degree submit to it. But whilft I humble myfelf before God, I do not know that it is forbidden to repel the attacks of unjust and inconsiderate men. The patience of Job is proverbial. After some of the convulsive struggles

of our irritable nature, he submitted himself, and repented in dust and ashes. But even so, I do not find him blamed for reprehending, and with a confiderable degree of verbal afperity, those illnatured neighbours of his, who visited his dunghill to read moral, political, and economical lectures on his mifery. I am alone. I have none to meet my enemies in the gate. Indeed, my lord, I greatly deceive myself, if in this hard feason I would give a peck of refuse wheat for all that is called fame and honour in the world. This is the appetite but of a few. It is a luxury; it is a privilege: it is an indulgence for those who are at their ease. But we are all of us made to shun disgrace, as we are made to shrink from pain, and poverty, and disease. It is an instinct; and under the direction of reason, instinct is always in the right. I live in an inverted order. They who ought to have fucceeded me are gone before me. They who should have been to me as posterity are in the place of ancestors. I owe to the dearest relation (which ever must subsist in memory) that act of piety, which he would have performed to me; I owe it to him to shew that he was not descended, as the duke of Bedford would have it, from an unworthy parent.

The crown has confidered me after long fervice: the crown has paid the duke of Bedford by advance. He has had a long credit for any fervice which which he may perform hereafter. He is secure. and long may he be fecure, in his advance, whether he performs any fervices or not. But let him take care how he endangers the fafety of that constitution which secures his own utility or his own infignificance; or how he discourages those, who take up, even puny arms, to defend an order of things, which, like the fun of heaven, shines alike on the useful and the worthless. His grants are engrafted on the publick law of Europe, covered with the awful hoar of innumerable ages. They are guarded by the facred rules of prescription, found in that full treasury of jurisprudence from which the jejuneness and penury of our municipal law has, by degrees, been enriched and strengthened. This prescription I had my share (a very full share) in bringing to its perfection*. The duke of Bedford will stand as long as prescriptive law endures; as long as the great stable laws of property common to us with all civilized nations, are kept in their integrity, and without the smallest intermixture of laws, maxims, principles, or precedents of the grand revolution. They are fecure against all changes but one. The whole revolutionary fystem, institutes, digest, code, novels, text, gloss, comment, are, not only not the faine, but they are the very reverse, and the reverse fun-

^{*} Sir George Savile's Act, called the Nu'lum Tempus Act.

damentally,

damentally, of all the laws, on which civil life has hitherto been upheld in all the governments of the world. The learned professors of the rights of man regard prescription, not as a title to bar all claim, set up against old possession—but they look on prescription as itself a bar against the possessor and proprietor. They hold an immemorial possession to be no more than a long continued, and therefore an aggravated injustice.

Such are their ideas; fuch their religion, and fuch their law. But as to our country and our race, as long as the well compacted structure of our church and state, the fanctuary, the holy of holies of that ancient law, defended by reverence, defended by nower, a fortress at once and a temple *. shall stand inviolate on the brow of the British Sion—as long as the British monarchy, not more limited than fenced by the orders of the state, shall, like the proud Keep of Windsor, rising in the majesty of proportion, and girt with the double belt of its kindred and coeval towers, as long as this awful structure shall oversee and guard the subjected land-fo long the mounds and dykes of the low, fat, Bedford level will have nothing to fear from all the pickaxes of all the levellers of France. As long as our fovereign lord the king, and his faithful subjects, the lords and commons of this

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realm,

[•] Templum in modum arcis. Tacitus of the temple of Jerufa-lem.

realm,—the triple cord, which no man can break; the folemn, fworn, constitutional frank-pledge of this nation; the firm guarantees of each others being, and each others rights; the joint and several securities, each in its place and order, for every kind and every quality, of property and of dignity—As long as these endure, so long the duke of Bedford is safe: and we are all safe together—the high from the blights of envy and the spoliations of rapacity; the low from the iron hand of oppression and the insolent spurn of contempt. Amen! and so be it: and so it will be,

Dum domus Aneæ Capitoli immobile faxum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus babebit.—

But if the rude inroad of Gallick tumult, with its fophistical rights of man, to falsify the account, and its sword as a makeweight to throw into the scale, shall be introduced into our city by a mifguided populace, set on by proud great men, themselves blinded and intoxicated by a frantick ambition, we shall, all of us, perish and be overwhelmed in a common ruin. If a great storm blow on our coast, it will cast the whales on the strand as well as the periwinkles. His Grace will not survive the poor grantee he despises, no not for a twelvemonth. If the great look for safety in the services they render to this Gallick cause, it is to be foolish,

even

even above the weight of privilege allowed to If his Grace be one of these whom they wealth. endeavour to proselytize, he ought to be aware of the character of the fect, whose doctrines he is invited to embrace. With them, infurrection is the most facred of revolutionary duties to the state. Ingratitude to benefactors is the first of revolutionary virtues. Ingratitude is indeed their four cardinal virtues compacted and amalgamated into one; and he will find it in every thing that has happened fince the commencement of the philosophick revolution to this hour. If he pleads the merit of having performed the duty of insurrection against the order he lives (God forbid he ever should), the merit of others will be to perform the duty of infurrection against him. If he pleads (again God forbid he should, and I do not suspect he will) his ingratitude to the crown for its creation of his family, others will plead their right and duty to pay him in kind. They will laugh, indeed they will laugh, at his parchment and his wax. His deeds will be drawn out with the rest of the lumber of his evidence room, and burnt to the tune of ça ira in the courts of Bedford (then Equality) house.

Am I to blame, if I attempt to pay his Grace's hostile reproaches to me with a friendly admonition to himself? Can I be blamed, for pointing out to him in what manner he is like to be affected, if the sect of the cannibal philosophers of France should

E 2 proselytize

proselytize any considerable part of this people, and, by their joint profelytizing arms, should conquer that government, to which his Grace does not feem to me to give all the fupport his own fecurity demands? Surely it is proper, that he, and that others like him, should know the true genius of this fect; what their opinions are, what they have done; and to whom; and what, (if a prognostick is to be formed from the dispositions and actions of men) it is certain they will do hereafter. He ought to know, that they have fworn affiftance, the only engagements they ever will keep, to all in this country, who bear a refemblance to themfelves, and who think as fuch, that The whole duty of man confifts in destruction. They are a misallied and disparaged branch of the house of Nimrod. They are the duke of Bedford's natural hunters: and he is their natural game. Because he is not very profoundly reflecting, he fleeps in profound fecurity: they, on the contrary, are always vigilant, active, enterprising, and, though far removed from any knowledge which makes men estimable or useful, in all the instruments and resources of evil, their leaders are not meanly instructed, or infufficiently furnished. In the French revolution every thing is new; and, from want of preparation to meet fo unlooked-for an evil, every thing is dangerous. Never, before this time, was a fet of literary men, converted into a gang of robbers and affaffins.

affaffins. Never before, did a den of bravoes and banditti, assume the garb and tone of an academy of philosophers.

Let me tell his Grace, that an union of fuch characters, monstrous as it seems, is not made for producing despicable enemies. But if they are formidable as foes, as friends they are dreadful indeed. The men of property in France confiding in a force, which seemed to be irresistible, because it had never been tried, neglected to prepare for a conflict with their enemies at their own weapons. They were found in such a situation as the Mexicans were, when they were attacked by the dogs. the cavalry, the iron, and the gunpowder of an handful of bearded men, whom they did not know to exist in nature. This is a comparison that some. I think, have made; and it is just. In France they had their enemies within their houses. They were even in the bosoms of many of them. But they had not fagacity to discern their savage character. They feemed tame, and even careffing. They had nothing but douce bumanité in their mouth. could not bear the punishment of the mildest laws on the greatest criminals. The slightest severity of justice made their flesh creep. The very idea that war existed in the world disturbed their repose. Military glory was no more, with them, than a splendid infamy. Hardly would they hear of felf-

E 3

defence,

defence, which they reduced within fuch bounds, as to leave it no defence at all. All this while they meditated the confifcations and massacres we have Had any one told these unfortunate noblemen and gentlemen, how, and by whom, the grand fabrick of the French monarchy under which they flourished would be subverted, they would not have pitied him as a visionary, but would have turned from him as what they call a mauvais plai-Yet we have feen what has happened. The persons who have suffered from the cannibal philofophy of France, are so like the duke of Bedford, that nothing but his Grace's probably not speaking quite fo good French; could enable us to find out any difference. A great many of them had as pompous titles as he, and were of full as illustrious a race: fome few of them had fortunes as ample; feveral of them, without meaning the least disparagement to the duke of Bedford, were as wife, and as virtuous, and as valiant, and as well educated, and as complete in all the lineaments of men of honour as he is: And to all this they had added the powerful outguard of a military profession, which, in its nature, renders men somewhat more cautious than those, who have nothing to attend to but the lazy enjoyment of undisturbed possesfions. But fecurity was their ruin. They are dashed to pieces in the storm, and our shores are covered

covered with the wrecks. If they had been aware that fuch a thing might happen, fuch a thing never could have happened.

I assure his Grace, that if I state to him the defigns of his enemies, in a manner which may appear to him ludicrous and impossible, I tell him nothing that has not exactly happened, point by point, but twenty-four miles from our own shore, I affure him that the Frenchified faction, more encouraged, than others are warned, by what has happened in France, look at him and his landed possessions, as an object at once of curiosity and rapacity. He is made for them in every part of their double character. As robbers, to them he is a noble booty: as speculatists, he is a glorious subject for their experimental philosophy. He affords matter for an extensive analysis, in all the branches of their science, geometrical, physical, civil and political. These philosophers are fanaticks; independent of any interest, which if it operated alone would make them much more tractable, they are carried with fuch an headlong rage towards every desperate trial, that they would facrifice the whole human race to the flightest of their experiments. I am better able to enter into the character of this description of men than the noble Duke can be. I have lived long and variously in the world. out any considerable pretensions to literature in myself, I have aspired to the love of letters. I have lived E 4

lived for a great many years in habitudes with those who professed them. I can form a tolerable estimate of what is likely to happen from a character, chiefly dependent for fame and fortune, on knowledge and talent, as well in its morbid and perverted state, as in that which is found and natural. Naturally men fo formed and finished are the first gifts of Providence to the world. But when they have once thrown off the fear of God, which was in all ages too often the case, and the fear of man, which is now the case, and when in that state they come to understand one another, and to act in corps, a more dreadful calamity cannot arise out of hell to scourge mankind. Nothing can be conceived more hard than the heart of a thoroughbred metaphysician. It comes nearer to the cold malignity of a wicked fpirit than to the frailty and passion of a man. It is like that of the principle of evil himself, incorporeal, pure, unmixed, dephlegmated, defecated evil. It is no easy operation to eradicate humanity from the human breast. What Shakespeare calls "the compunctious visitings of nature," will fometimes knock at their hearts, and protest against their murderous speculations. But they have a means of compounding with their nature. Their humanity is not dissolved. They only give it a long prorogation. They are ready to declare, that they do not think two thoufand years too long a period for the good that they pursue.

purfue. It is remarkable, that they never fee any way to their projected good but by the road of some evil. Their imagination is not fatigued with the contemplation of human fuffering through the wild waste of centuries added to centuries of misery and desolation. Their humanity is at their horizon-and, like the horizon, it always flies before them. The geometricians, and the chymists bring, the one from the dry bones of their diagrams, and the other from the foot of their furnaces, dispositions that make them worse than indifferent about those feelings and habitudes, which are the supports of the moral world. Ambition is come upon them fuddenly; they are intoxicated with it, and it has rendered them fearless of the danger, which may from thence arise to others or to themselves. These philosophers, consider men in their experiments, no more than they do mice in an air pump, or in a recipient of mephitick gas. Whatever his Grace may think of himself, they look upon him, and every thing that belongs to him, with no more regard than they do upon the whiskers of that little long-tailed animal, that has been long the game of the grave, demure, infidious, fpring-nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed philosophers, whether going upon two legs, or upon four.

His Grace's landed possessions are irresistibly inviting to an agrarian experiment. They are a downright insult upon the rights of man. They

are

are more extensive than the territory of many of the Grecian republicks; and they are without comparison more fertile than most of them. There are now republicks in Italy, in Germany, and in Swifferland, which do not possess any thing like so fair and ample a domain. There is scope for seven philosophers to proceed in their analytical experiments, upon Harrington's seven different forms of republicks, in the acres of this one Duke. Hitherto they have been wholly unproductive to speculation; fitted for nothing but to fatten bullocks, and to produce grain for beer, still more to stupify the dull English understanding. Abbé Sieyes has whole nests of pigeon-holes full of constitutions ready made, ticketed, forted, and numbered; fuited to every feafon and every fancy; fome with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and fome with the bottom at the top; fome plain, fome flowered; fome diftinguished for their simplicity; others for their complexity; fome of blood colour; fome of boue de Paris; some with directories, others without a direction; fome with councils of elders, and councils of youngsters; some without any council at all. Some where the electors choose the reprefentatives; others, where the representatives choose the electors. Some in long coats, and fome in short cloaks; some with pantaloons; some without breeches. Some with five shilling qualifications; fome totally unqualified. So that no constitutionstitution-fancier may go unsuited from his shop, provided he loves a pattern of pillage, oppression, arbitrary imprisonment, consistation, exile, revolutionary judgment, and legalized premeditated murder, in any shapes into which they can be put. What a pity it is, that the progress of experimental philosophy should be checked by his Grace's monopoly! Such are their sentiments, I assure him; such is their language when they dare to speak; and such are their proceedings, when they have the means to act.

Their geographers, and geometricians, have been fome time out of practice. It is some time since they have divided their own country into squares. That figure has lost the charms of its novelty. They want new lands for new trials. It is not only the geometricians of the republick that find him a good subject, the chymists have bespoke him after the geometricians have done with him. As the first set have an eye on his Grace's lands, the chymists are not less taken with his buildings. They consider mortar as a very anti-revolutionary invention in its present state; but properly employed, an admirable material for overturning all establishments. They have found that the gunpowder of ruins is far the fittest for making other ruins, and fo ad infinitum. They have calculated what quantity of matter convertible into nitre is to be found in Bedford house, in Wooburn Abbey, and and in what his Grace and his trustees have still suffered to stand of that soolish royalist Inigo Jones, in Covent Garden. Churches, play-houses, coffee-houses, all alike are destined to be mingled, and equalised, and blended into one common rubbish; and well sisted, and lixiviated, to crystallize into true democratick explosive insurrectionary nitre. Their academy del Cimento (per antiphrasin) with Morveau and Hassenstrats at its head, have computed that the brave sans-culottes may make war on all the aristocracy of Europe for a twelvemonth, out of the rubbish of the duke of Bedford's buildings.*

While

* There is nothing, on which the leaders of the republick, one and indivisible, value themselves, more than on the chymical operations, by which, through science, they convert the pride of aristocracy to an instrument of its own destruction-on the operations by which they reduce the magnificent ancient country feats of the nobility, decorated with the feudul titles of Duke, Marquis, or Earl, into magazines of what they call revolutionary gunpowder. They tell us, that hitherto things " had not yet been "" properly and in a revolutionary manner explored."-" The " itrong chateaus, those feudal fortresses, that were ordered to be 16 demolifhed, attracted next the attention of your committee. Na-" ture there had fecretly regained her rights, and had produced " faltpetre for the purpose, as it should feem, of facilitating the execution of your decree by preparing the means of desiruction. From 46 these ruins, which fill frown on the liberties of the republick. we have extracted the means of producing good; and those of piles, which have hitherto glutted the pride of despots, and co-" vered the plots of La Vendée, will soon furnish wherewithal to " tame While the Morveaux and Priestleys are proceeding with these experiments upon the duke of Bedford's houses, the Sieyes, and the rest of the analytical legislators, and constitution-venders, are quite as busy in their trade of decomposing organization, in forming his Grace's vassals into primary assemblies, national guards, first, second and third requisitioners, committees of research, conductors of the travelling guillotine, judges of revolutionary tribunals, legislative hangmen, supervisors of domiciliary visitation, exactors of forced loans, and assessments.

The din of all this smithery may some time or other possibly wake this noble Duke, and push him to an endeavour to save some little matter from their experimental philosophy. If he pleads his grants from the crown, he is ruined at the outset. If he pleads he has received them from the pillage of superstitious corporations, this indeed will stagger them a little, because they are enemies to all corporations, and to all religion. However, they will soon recover themselves, and will tell his Grace, or his learned council, that all such pro-

perty

tame the traitors, and to overwhelm the disaffected."——
The rebellious cities also, have afforded a large quantity of sale-

[&]quot; petre. Commune Affranchic, (that is, the noble city of Lyons

[&]quot; reduced in many parts to an heap of ruins) and Toulon will

[&]quot; pay a second tribute to our artillery." Report 1st. February

perty belongs to the nation; and that it would be more wife for him, if he wishes to live the natural term of a citizen, (that is, according to Condorcet's calculation, six months on an average,) not to pass for an usurper upon the national property. This is what the ferjeants at law of the rights of man, will say to the puny apprentices of the common law of England.

Is the genius of philosophy not yet known? You may as well think the garden of the Thuilleries was well protected with the cords of ribbon infultingly stretched by the national assembly to keep the fovereign canaille from intruding on the retirement of the poor king of the French, as that fuch flimfy cobwebs will fland between the favages of the revolution and their natural prey. Deep philosophers are no triflers; brave fans-culottes are no formalists. They will no more regard a Marquis of Tavistock than an Abbot of Tavistock; the Lord of Wooburn will not be more respectable in their eyes than the Prior of Wooburn: they will make no difference between the fuperiour of a Covent Garden of nuns and of a Covent Garden of another description. They will not care a rush whether his coat is long or fhort; whether the colour be purple or blue and buff. They will not trouble their heads, with what part of his head, his hair is cut from; and they will look with equal respect on a tonfure and a crop. Their only question will be

be that of their Legendre, or some other of their legislative butchers, how he cuts up? how he tallows in the cawl or on the kidneys?

Is it not a fingular phenomenon, that whilst the sans-culotte carcase butchers, and the philosophers of the shambles, are pricking their dotted lines upon his hide, and like the print of the poor ox that we see in the shop-windows at Charing-cross, alive as he is, and thinking no harm in the world, he is divided into rumps, and sirloins, and briskets, and into all forts of pieces for roasting, boiling, and stewing, that all the while they are measuring him, his Grace is measuring me; is invidiously comparing the bounty of the crown with the deserts of the desender of his order, and in the same moment sawning on those who have the knife half out of the sheath—poor innocent!

Pleas'd to the last, he crops the slow'ry food, And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his blood.

No man lives too long, who lives to do with fpirit, and fuffer with refignation, what Providence pleases to command or inflict: but indeed they are sharp incommodities which beset old age. It was but the other day, that on putting in order some things which had been brought here on my taking leave of London for ever, I looked over a number of sine portraits, most of them of persons

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now

now dead, but whose society, in my better days, made this a proud and happy place. Amongst these was the picture of Lord Keppel. It was painted by an artist worthy of the subject, the excellent friend of that excellent man from their earliest youth, and a common friend of us both, with whom we lived for many years without a moment of coldness, of peevishness, of jealousy, or of jar, to the day of our final separation.

I ever looked on Lord Keppel as one of the greatest and best men of his age; and I loved, and cultivated him accordingly. He was much in my heart, and I believe I was in his to the very last beat. It was after his trial at Portsmouth that he gave me this picture. With what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that his agony of glory, what part my fon in the early flush and enthusiasm of his virtue, and the pious passion with which he attached himself to all my connections, with what prodigality we both fquandered ourfelves in courting almost every fort of enmity for his fake, I believe he felt, just as I should have felt, fuch friendship on such an occasion. I partook indeed of this honour, with feveral of the first, and best, and ablest in the kingdom, but I was behind hand with none of them; and I am fure, that if to the eternal difgrace of this nation, and to the total annihilation of every trace of honour and virtue in it, things had taken a different turn from what

what they did, I should have attended him to the quarter-deck with no less good will and more pride, though with far other feelings, than I partook of the general flow of national joy that attended the justice that was done to his virtue.

Pardon, my Lord, the feeble garrulity of age, which loves to diffuse itself in discourse of the departed great. At my years we live in retrospect alone: and, wholly unsitted for the society of vigorous life, we enjoy, the best balm to all wounds, the consolation of friendship, in those only whom we have lost for ever. Feeling the loss of Lord Keppel at all times, at no time did I feel it so much as on the first day when I was attacked in the house of lords.

Had he lived, that reverend form would have risen in its place, and with a mild, parental reprehension to his nephew the duke of Bedford, he would have told him that the favour of that gracious prince, who had honoured his virtues with the government of the navy of Great Britain, and with a seat in the hereditary great council of his kingdom, was not undeservedly shewn to the friend of the best portion of his life, and his faithful companion and counsellor under his rudest trials. He would have told him, that to whomever else these reproaches might be becoming, they were not decorous in his near kindred. He would Vol. VIII.

have told him that when men in that rank lose decorum, they lose every thing.

On that day I had a loss in Lord Keppel; but the publick loss of him in this awful criss—! I speak from much knowledge of the person, he never would have listened to any compromise with the rabble rout of this sans culotterie of France. His goodness of heart, his reason, his taste, his publick duty, his principles, his prejudices, would have repelled him for ever from all connection with that horrid medley of madness, vice, impiety, and crime.

Lord Keppel had two countries; one of descent, and one of birth. Their interest and their glory are the same; and his mind was capacious of both. His family was noble, and it was Dutch: that is, he was of the oldest and purest nobility that Europe can boaft, among a people renowned above all others for love of their native land. Though it was never shewn in infult to any human being, Lord Keppel was fomething high. It was a wild flock of pride, on which the tenderest of all hearts had grafted the milder virtues. He valued ancient nobility; and he was not difinclined to augment it with new honours. He valued the old nobility and the new, not as an excuse for inglorious sloth, but as an incitement to virtuous activity. He confidered it as a fort of cure for felfishees and a nar-

TOW

row mind; conceiving that a man born in an elevated place, in himself was nothing, but every thing in what went before, and what was to come after him. Without much speculation, but by the fure instinct of ingenuous feelings, and by the dictates of plain unfophisticated natural understanding, he felt, that no great commonwealth could by any possibility long subsist, without a body of fome kind or other of nobility, decorated with honour, and fortified by privilege. This nobility forms the chain that connects the ages of a nation, which otherwise (with Mr. Paine) would foon be taught that no one generation can bind another. He felt that no political fabrick could be well made without some such order of things as might, through a feries of time, afford a rational hope of fecuring unity, coherence, consistency, and stability to the state. He felt that nothing else can protect it against the levity of courts, and the greater levity of the multitude. That to talk of hereditary monarchy without any thing elfe of hereditary reverence in the commonwealth, was a low-minded abfurdity; fit only for those detestable "fools aspiring to be knaves," who began to forge in 1789, the false money of the French constitution—That it is one fatal objection to all new fancied and new fabricated republicks, (among' a people, who, once possessing such an advantage, have wickedly and infolently rejected it,) that the prejudice

prejudice of an old nobility is a thing that cannot be made. It may be improved, it may be corrected, it may be replenished: men may be taken from it, or aggregated to it, but the thing itself is matter of inveterate opinion, and therefore cannot be matter of mere positive institution. He felt, that this nobility, in sact does not exist in wrong of other orders of the state, but by them, and for them.

I knew the man I speak of; and, if we can divine the future, out of what we collect from the past, no person living would look with more scorn and horrour on the impious parricide committed on all their ancestry, and on the desperate attainder passed on all their posterity, by the Orleans, and the Rochefoucaults, and the Fayettes, and the Viscomtes de Noailles, and the false Perigords, and the long et catera of the perfidious fans culottes of the court, who like demoniacks, possessed with a spirit of fallen pride, and inverted ambition, abdicated their dignities, disowned their families, betrayed the most facred of all trusts, and by breaking to pieces a great link of fociety, and all the cramps and holdings of the state, brought eternal confusion and desolation on their country. For the fate of the miscreant parricides themselves he would have had no pity. Compassion for the myriads of men, of whom the world was not worthy, who by their means have perished in prisons,

or on scaffolds, or are pining in beggary and exile, would leave no room in his, or in any well-formed mind, for any such sensation. We are not made at once to pity the oppressor and the oppressed.

Looking to his Batavian descent, how could he bear to behold his kindred, the descendants of the brave nobility of Holland, whose blood prodigally poured out, had, more than all the canals, meers, and inundations of their country, protected their independence, to behold them bowed in the basest servitude, to the basest and vilest of the human race; in servitude to those who in no respect were superiour in dignity, or could aspire to a better place than that of hangmen to the tyrants, to whose sceptered pride they had opposed an elevation of soul, that surmounted, and overpowered the lostiness of Castile, the haughtiness of Austria, and the overbearing arrogance of France?

Could he with patience bear, that the children of that nobility, who would have deluged their country and given it to the fea, rather than fubmit to Louis XIV. who was then in his meridian glory, when his arms were conducted by the Turennes, by the Luxembourgs, by the Boufflers; when his councils were directed by the Colberts, and the Louvois; when his tribunals were filled by the Lamoignons and the Dagueslaus—that these should be given up to the cruel sport of the Piche-

F 3

gru's,

gru's, the Jourdans, the Santerres, under the Rolands, and Briffots, and Gorfas, and Robefpierres, the Reubels, the Carnots, and Talliens, and Dantons, and the whole tribe of regicides, robbers, and revolutionary judges, that, from the rotten carcafe of their own murdered country, have poured out innumerable fwarms of the lowest, and at once the most destructive of the classes of animated nature, which, like columns of locusts, have laid waste the fairest part of the world?

Would Keppel have borne to fee the ruin of the virtuous patricians, that happy union of the noble and the burgher, who with fignal prudence and integrity, had long governed the cities of the confederate republick, the cherishing fathers of their country, who, denying commerce to themselves, made it flourish in a manner unexampled under their protection? Could Keppel have borne that a vile faction should totally destroy this harmonious construction, in favour of a robbing democracy, founded on the spurious rights of man?

He was no great clerk, but he was perfectly well versed in the interests of Europe, and he could not have heard with patience, that the country of Grotius, the cradle of the law of nations, and one of the richest repositories of all law, should be taught a new code by the ignorant slippancy of Thomas Paine, the presumptuous soppery of La Fayette, with his stolen rights of man in his hand,

the wild profligate intrigue and turbulency of Marat, and the impious fophistry of Condorcet, in his infolent addresses to the Batavian republick?

Could Keppel, who idolized the house of Nassau, who was himself given to England, along with the blessings of the British and Dutch revolutions; with revolutions of stability; with revolutions which consolidated and married the liberties and the interests of the two nations for ever, could he see the fountain of British liberty itself in servitude to France? Could he see with patience a prince of Orange expelled as a fort of diminutive despot, with every kind of contumely, from the country, which that family of deliverers had so often rescued from slavery, and obliged to live in exile in another country, which owes its liberty to his house?

Would Keppel have heard with patience, that the conduct to be held on such occasions was to become short by the knees to the faction of the homicides, to intreat them quietly to retire? or if the fortune of war should drive them from their sirst wicked and unprovoked invasion, that no security should be taken, no arrangement made, no barrier formed, no alliance entered into for the security of that, which under a foreign name is the most precious part of England? What would he have said, if it was even proposed that the

Austrian Netherlands (which ought to be a bar, rier to Holland, and the tie of an alliance, to protect her against any species of rule that might be erected, or even be restored in France) should be formed into a republick under her influence, and dependent upon her power?

But above all, what would he have faid, if he had heard it made a matter of accufation against me, by his nephew the duke of Bedford, that I was the author of the war? Had I a mind to keep that high distinction to myself, as from pride I might, but from justice I dare not, he would have snatched his share of it from my hand, and held it with the grasp of a dying convulsion to his end.

It would be a most arrogant presumption in me to assume to myself the glory of what belongs to his majesty, and to his ministers, and to his parliament, and to the far greater majority of his faithful people: But had I stood alone to counsel, and that all were determined to be guided by my advice, and to follow it implicitly—then I should have been the fole author of a war. But it should have been a war on my ideas and my principles. However, let his Grace think as he may of my demerits with regard to the war with regicide, he will find my guilt confined to that alone. He never shall, with the smallest colour of reason, accuse me of being the author of a peace with regicide.

regicide. But that is high matter; and ought not to be mixed with any thing of so little moment, as what may belong to me, or even to the duke of Bedford.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDMUND BURKE.

MR. BURKE'S

THREE LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

A MEMBER OF THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT,

ON THE

PROPOSALS FOR PEACE

WITH THE

REGICIDE DIRECTORY OF FRANCE.

1796.

LETTER I.

ON THE

OVERTURES OF PEACE.

MY DEAR SIR,

UR last conversation, though not in the tone of absolute despondency, was far from chearful. We could not easily account for some unpleasant appearances. They were represented to us as indicating the flate of the popular mind; and they were not at all what we should have expected from our old ideas even of the faults and vices of the English character. The disastrous events, which have followed one upon another in a long unbroken funereal train, moving in a procession, that seemed to have no end, these were not the principal causes of our dejection. We feared more from what threatened to fail within, than what menaced to oppress us from abroad. To a people who have once been proud and great, and great because they were proud, a change in the national spirit is the most terrible of all revolutions.

I shall not live to behold the unravelling of the intricate plot, which saddens and perplexes the

awful drama of Providence, now acting on the moral theatre of the world. Whether for thought or for action, I am at the end of my career. You are in the middle of yours. In what part of its orbit the nation, with which we are carried along, moves at this instant, it is not easy to conjecture. It may, perhaps, be far advanced in its aphelion.—But when to return?

Not to lofe ourselves in the infinite void of the conjectural world, our business is with what is likely to be affected for the better or the worse, by the wifdom or weakness of our plans. In all speculations upon men and human affairs, it is of no small moment to diftinguish things of accident from permanent causes, and from effects that cannot be altered. It is not every irregularity in our movement that is a total deviation from our course. I am not quite of the mind of those speculators, who feem affured, that necessarily, and by the constitution of things, all states have the same periods of infancy, manhood, and decrepitude, that are found in the individuals who compose them. rallels of this fort rather furnish similitudes to illustrate or to adorn, than supply analogies from whence to reason. The objects which are attempted to be forced into an analogy are not found in the fame classes of existence. Individuals are physical beings, subject to laws universal and invariable. The immediate cause acting in these laws may be obfcure:

scure: the general results are subjects of certain calculation. But commonwealths are not physical but moral effences. They are artificial combinations; and in their proximate efficient cause, the arbitrary productions of the human mind. are not yet acquainted with the laws which necesfarily influence the stability of that kind of work made by that kind of agent. There is not in the physical order (with which they do not appear to hold any affignable connexion) a diftinct cause by which any of those fabricks must necessarily grow, flourish, or decay; nor, in my opinion, does the moral world produce any thing more determinate on that subject, than what may serve as an amusement, (liberal indeed, and ingenious, but still only an amusement) for speculative men. I doubt whether the history of mankind is yet complete enough, if ever it can be so, to furnish grounds for a sure theory on the internal causes which necessarily affect the fortune of a State. I am far from denying the operation of fuch causes: but they are infinitely uncertain, and much more obscure, and much more difficult to trace, than the foreign causes that tend to raife, to depress, and sometimes to overwhelm a community.

It is often impossible, in these political inquiries, to find any proportion between the apparent force of any moral causes we may assign and their known operation. We are therefore obliged to deliver up that

that operation to mere chance, or more piously (perhaps more rationally) to the occasional interposition and irresistible hand of the Great Disposer. We have feen states of considerable duration. which for ages have remained nearly as they have begun, and could hardly be faid to ebb or flow. Some appear to have fpent their vigour at their commencement. Some have blazed out in their glory a little before their extinction. The meridian of some has been the most splendid. and they the greatest number, have sluctuated, and experienced at different periods of their existence a great variety of fortune. At the very moment when some of them seemed plunged in unfathomable abysses of disgrace and disaster, they have fuddenly emerged. They have begun a new courfe and opened a new reckoning; and even in the depths of their calamity, and on the very ruins of their country, have laid the foundations of a towering and durable greatness. All this has happened without any apparent previous change in the general circumstances which had brought on their distress. The death of a man at a critical juncture, his disgust, his retreat, his disgrace, have brought innumerable calamities on a whole nation. A common foldier, a child, a girl at the door of an inn, have changed the face of fortune, and almost of nature.

Such, and often influenced by fuch causes, has commonly

commonly been the fate of monarchies of long They have their ebbs and their flows. duration. This has been eminently the fate of the monarchy of France. There have been times, in which no power has ever been brought to low, Fow have ever flourished in greater glory. By turns elevated and depressed, that power had been, on the whole, rather on the increase; and it continued not only powerful but formidable to the hour of the total ruin of the monarchy. This fall of the monarchy was far from being preceded by any exterior symptoms of decline. The interiour were not visible to every eye; and a thousand accidents might have prevented the operation of what the most clear-sighted were not able to difcern, nor the most provident to divine. A very little time before its dreadful eataftrophe, there was a kind of exterior fplendour in the fituation of the crown, which usually adds to government strength and authority at home. The crown feemed then to have obtained fome of the most splendid objects of state ambition. None of the continental powers of Europe were the ensmies of France. They were all, either tacitly difposed to her, or publickly-connected with her; and in those who kept the most aloof, there was little appearance of jealoufy; of animofity there was no appearance at all. The British nation, her great preponderating rival, she had humbled; to all appearance the had weakened; certainly had en-VOL. VIII. dangered, G

changered, by cutting off a very large, and by far the most growing part of her empire. In that its acmé of human prosperity and greatness, in the high and palmy state of the monarchy of France, it fell to the ground without a struggle. It fell without any of those vices in the monarch, which have sometimes been the causes of the fall of kingdoms, but which existed, without any visible effect on the state, in the highest degree in many other princes; and, far from destroying their power, had only lest some slight stains on their character. The sinancial difficulties were only pretexts and instruments of those who accomplish the ruin of that imporarchy. They were not the causes of it.

Deprived of the old government, deprived in a manner of all government, France fallen as a monarchy, to common speculators might have appeared more likely to be an object of pity or infult, according to the disposition of the circumjacent powers, than to be the scourge and terrour of them all: but out of the tomb of the murdered monarchy in France, has arisen a vast, tremendous, unformed spectre, in a far more terrifick guise than any which ever yet have overpowered the imagination, and subdued the fortitude of man. Going straight forward to its end, unappalled by peril, unchecked by remorfe, despising all common maxims and all common means, that hideous phantom overpowered those who could not believe it was possible fhe

she could at all exist, except on the principles, which habit rather than nature had persuaded them were necessary to their own particular welfare and to their own ordinary modes of action. But the constitution of any political being, as well as that of any physical being, ought to be known, before one can venture to say what is sit for its conservation, or what is the proper means of its power. The poison of other states is the food of the new republick. That bankruptcy, the very apprehension of which is one of the causes assigned for the fall of the monarchy, was the capital on which she opened her traffick with the world.

The republick of regicide with an annihilated revenue, with defaced manufactures, with a ruined commerce, with an uncultivated and half-depopulated country, with a discontented, distressed, enflaved, and famished people, passing with a rapid, eccentrick, incalculable course, from the wildest anarchy to the sternest despotism, has actually conquered the finest parts of Europe, has distressed, disunited, deranged, and broke to pieces all the rest; and so subdued the minds of the rulers in every nation, that hardly any resource presents itself to them, except that of entitling themselves to a contemptuous mercy by a display of their imbecility and meannels. Even in their greatest military efforts and the greatest display of their fortitude, they feem not to hope, they do not even appear to wish,

wish, the extinction of what subsists to their certain ruin. Their ambition is only to be admitted to a more favoured class in the order of servitude under that domineering power.

This feems the temper of the day. At first the French force was too much despised. Now it is too much dreaded. As inconsiderate courage has given way to irrational fear, so it may be hoped, that through the medium of deliberate sober apprehension, we may arrive at steady fortitude. Who knows whether indignation may not succeed to terrour, and the revival of high sentiment, spurning away the delusion of a fasety purchased at the expence of glory, may not yet drive us to that generous despair, which has often subdued distempers in the state for which no remedy could, be found in the wifest councils.

Other great states, having been without any regular certain course of elevation, or decline, we may hope that the British fortune may fluctuate also; because the publicks mind, which greatly influences that fortune, may have its changes. We are therefore never authorized to abandon our country to its sate, or to act or advise as if it had no resource. There is no reason to apprehend, because ordinary means threaten to fail, that no others can spring up. Whilst our heart is whole, it will find means, or make them. The heart of the citizen is a perennial spring of energy to the state.

Because the pulse seems to intermit, we must not presume that it will cease instantly to beat. The publick must never be regarded as incurable. I remember in the beginning of what has lately been called the feven years war, that an eloquent writer and ingenious speculator, Dr. Browne, upon fome reverses which happened in the beginning of that war, published an elaborate philosophical discourse to prvoe that the distinguishing features of the people of England had been totally changed, and that a frivolous effeminacy was become the national character. Nothing could be more popular than that work. It was thought a great confolation to us the light people of this country (who were and are light, but who were not and are not effeminate) that we had found the causes of our misfortunes in our vices. Pythagoras could not be more pleased with his leading discovery. But whilst in that splenetick mood we amused ourselves in a sour critical speculation, of which we were ourselves the objects, and in which every man loft his particular sense of the publick disgrace in the epidemick nature of the distemper; whilst, as in the Alps Gaitre kept Gaitre in countenance; whilst we were thus abandoning ourselves to a direct confession of our inferiority to France, and whilst many, very many, were ready to act upon a fense of that inferiority, a few months effected a total change in our variable minds. We emerged from G 3

from the gulph of that speculative despondency; and were buoyed up to the highest point of practical vigour. Never did the masculine spirit of England display itself with more energy, nor ever did its genius soar with a prouder pre-eminence over France, than at the time when frivolity and esseminacy had been at least tacitly acknowledged as their national character, by the good people of this kingdom.

For one (if they be properly treated) I despair neither of the publick fortune nor of the publick mind. There is much to be done undoubtedly, and much to be retrieved. We must walk in new ways, or we can never encounter our enemy in his devious march. We are not at an end of our struggle, nor near it. Let us not deceive ourselves: we are at the beginning of great troubles. I readily acknowledge that the state of publick affairs is infinitely more unpromising than at the period I have just now alluded to, and the position of all the powers of Europe, in relation to us, and intrelation to each other, is more intricate and critical beyond all comparison. Difficult indeed is our situation. In all fituations of difficulty men will be influenced in the part they take, not only by the reason of the case, but by the peculiar turn of their own character. The same ways to safety do not present themselves to all men, nor to the same men in different tempers. There is a courageous wisdom: there

there is also a false reptile prudence, the result not of caution but of fear. Under misfortunes it often happens that the nerves of the understanding are for relaxed, the pressing peril of the hour so completely confounds all the faculties, that no future danger can be properly provided for, can be justly estimated, can be so much as fully feen. The eye of the mind is dazzled and vanquished. An abject distrust of ourselves, an extravagant admiration of the enemy, present us with no hope but in a compromise with his pride, by a submission to his will. This short plan of policy is the only counsel which will obtain a hearing. We plunge into a dark gulph with all the rash precipitation of fear. The nature of courage is, without a question, to be conversant with danger; but in the palpable night of their terrours, men under consternation suppose, not that it is the danger, which, by a fure inftinct, calls out the courage to relift it, but that it is the courage which produces the danger. They therefore feek for a refuge from their fears in the fears themselves, and confider a temporizing meanners as the only fource of fafety.

The rules and definitions of prudence can rarely be exact; never universal. I do not deny that in small truckling states a timely compromise with power has often been the means, and the only means, of drawling out their puny existence; but a great state is too much envied, too much dreaded,

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noting fafety in humiliation. To be fecure; it must be respected. Power, and eminence, and consideration, are things not to be begged. They must be commanded: and they who supplicate for mercy from others, can never hope for justice through themselves. What justice they are to obtain, as the alms of an enemy, depends upon his character; and that they ought well to know before they implicitly conside.

Much controversy there has been in Parliament; and not a little amongst us out of doors, about the instrumental means of this nation towards the maintenance of her dignity, and the affertion of her rights. On the most elaborate and correct detail of facts, the refult feems to be, that at no time has the wealth and power of Great Britain been fo confiderable as it is at this very perilous moment. We have a wast interest to preserve, and we possess great means of preserving it: but it is to be remembered that the artificer may be incumbered by his tools, and that resources may be among impediments. If wealth is the obedient and laborious flave of virtue and of publick honour, then wealth is in its place, and has its use; but if this order is changed, and honour is to be facrificed to the confervation of riches, riches which have neither eyes nor hands, nor any thing truly vital in them, cannot long furvive the being of their vivifying powers, their legitimate masters, and their potent protec-

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tors. If we command our wealth, we shall be rich and free; if our wealth commands us, we are poor indeed. wWe are bought by the enemy with the treasure from our own coffers. Too great a sense of the value of a subordinate interest may be the very fource of its danger, as well as the certain ruin of interests of a superiour order. Often has a man lost his all because he would not submit to hazard all in defending it. A display of our wealth before robbers is not the way to restrain their boldness, or to lessen their rapacity. This display is made, I know, to perfuade the people of England that thereby we shall awe the enemy, and improve the terms of our capitulation; it is made, not that we should fight with more animation, but that we should supplicate with better hopes. We are mistaken. We have an enemy to deal with who never regarded our contest as a measuring and weighing of purses. He is the Gaul that puts his found into the scale. He is more tempted with our wealth as booty, than terrified with it as power, But let us be rich or poor, let us be either in what proportion we may, nature is false or this is true, that where the effential publick force (of which money is but a part) is in any degree upon a par in a conflict between nations, that state which is refolved to hazard its existence rather than to abandon its objects, must have an infinite advantage over that which is resolved to yield rather than to Carry carry its relistance beyond a certain point. Humanly speaking, that people which bounds its efforts only with its being, must give the law to that nation which will not push its opposition beyond its convenience.

If we look to nothing but our domestick condition, the state of the nation is full even to plethery; but if we imagine that this country can long maintain its blood and its food, as disjoined from the community of mankind, such an opinion does not deserve resutation as absurd, but pity as insane.

I do not know that fuch an improvident and stupid selfishness deserves the discussion, which, perhaps, I may bestow upon it hereafter. We cannot arrange with our enemy in the present conjuncture, without abandoning the interest of mankind, If we look only to our own petty peculium in the war, we have had fome advantages; advantages ambiguous in their nature, and dearly bought. have not in the flightest degree impaired the ftrength of the common enemy in any one of those points in which his particular force consists; at the fame time that new enemies to ourselves, new allies to the regicide republick, have been made out of the wrecks and fragments of the general confederacy. So far as to the felfish part. As composing a part of the community of Europe, and interested in its fate, it is not easy to conceive a state of things more doubtful and perplexing. When

When Louis the XIVth had made himself master of one of the largest and most important provinces of Spain; when he had in a manner overrun Lombardy, and was thundering at the gates of Turin; when he had mastered almost all Germany on this side the Rhine; when he was on the point of ruining the august fabrick of the empire; when with the elector of Bavaria in his alliance, hardly. any thing interposed between him and Vienna; when the Turk hung with a mighty force over the empire on the other fide; I do not know, that in the beginning of 1704 (that is in the third year of the renovated war with Louis the XIVth) the state of Europe was fo truly alarming. To England it certainly was not. Holland (and Holland is a matter to England of value inestimable) was then powerful, was then independent, and though greatly endangered, was then full of energy and spirit. But the great resource of Europe was in England: not in a fort of England detached from the rest of the world, and amusing herself with the puppet-shew of a naval power, (it can be no better, whilst all the fources of that power, and of every fort of power, are precarious) but in that fort of England, who considered herself as embodied with Europe; but in that fort of England, who, sympathetick with the adversity or the happiness of mankind, felt that nothing in human affairs was foreign to her. may consider it as a sure axiom that, as on the one hand

hand no confederacy of the least effect or duration can exist against France, of which England is not only a part, but the head, so neither can England pretend to cope with France but as connected with the body of Christendom.

Our account of the war, as a war of communion, to the very point in which we began to throw out lures, oglings, and glances for peace, was a war of difaster and of little else. The independent advantages obtained by us at the beginning of the war, and which were made at the expence of that common cause, if they deceive us about our largest and our surest interest, are to be reckoned amongst our heaviest losses.

The allies, and Great Britain amongst the rest, (and perhaps among the foremost) have been miferably deluded by this great fundamental errour; that it was in our power to make peace with this monster of a state, whenever we chose to forget the crimes that made it great, and the designs that made it formidable. People imagined that their ceasing to resist was the sure way to be secure. This "pale cast of thought" sicklied over all their enterprises and turned all their politicks awry. They could not, or rather they would not read, in the most unequivocal declarations of the enemy, and in his uniform conduct, that more safety was to be found in the most arduous war, than in the friendship of that kind of being. Its hostile amity

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can be obtained on no terms that do not imply an inability hereafter to relift its deligns. This great prolifick errour (I mean that peace was always in our power) has been the cause that rendered the allies indifferent about the direction of the war; and perfuaded them that they might always risk a choice, and even a change in its objects. They feldom improved any advantage; hoping that the enemy, affected by it, would make a proffer of peace. Hence it was, that all their early victories have been followed almost linmediately with the usual effects of a defeat; whill all the advantages obtained by the regicides, have been followed by the confequences that were natural. The discomfitures, which the republick of affaffins has fuffered, have uniformly called forth new exertions, which not only repaired old losses, but prepared new conquelts. The losses of the allies, on the contrary, (no provision having been made on the speculation of such an event) have been followed by defertion, by diffinar, by diffunion, by a dereliction of their policy, by a flight from their principles, by an admiration of the enemy, by mutual acculations, by a distrust in every member of the alliance of its fellow, of its cause, its power, and and the second its courage.

Great difficulties in consequence of our erroneous policy, as I have said, press upon every side of us. Far from desiring to conceal or even to palliate the

the evil in the representation, I wish to lay it down as my foundation, that never greater existed. In a moment when fudden panick is apprehended, it may be wife, for a while to conceal fome great publick disafter, or to reveal it by degrees, until the minds of the people have time to be recollected, that their understanding may have leifure to rally, and that more fleady councils may prevent their doing something desperate under the first impressions of rage or terrour. But with regard to a general state of things, growing out of events and causes already known in the gross, there is no piety in the fraud that covers its true nature; because nothing but erroneous resolutions can be the result of false representations. Those measures which in common distress might be available, in greater, are no better than playing with the evil. That the effort may bear a proportion to the exigence. it is fit it should be known; known in its quality, in its extent, and in all the circumstances which attend it. Great reverses of fortune there have been. and great embarrassments in council: a principled regicide enemy possessed of the most important part of Europe, and struggling for the rest: within ourselves a total relaxation of all authority, whilst a cry is raifed against it, as if it were the most ferocious of all despotism. A worse phænomenon;our government disowned by the most efficient member of its tribunals; ill supported by any of their

their constituent parts; and the highest tribunal of all (from causes not for our present purpose to examine) deprived of all that dignity and all that efficiency which might enforce, or regulate, or if the case required it, might supply the want of every other court. Publick profecutions are become little better than schools for treason; of no use but to improve the dexterity of criminals in the mystery of evalion; or to shew with what complete impunity men may conspire against the commonwealth; with what fafety affaffins may attempt its awful head. Every thing is secure, except what the laws have made facred; every thing is tameness and languor that is not fury and faction. Whilst the distempers of a relaxed fibre prognosticate and prepare all the morbid force of convultion in the body of the state, the steadiness of the physician is overpowered by the very aspect of the disease*. The -doctor of the constitution, pretending to underrate what he is not able to contend with, shrinks from his own operation. He doubts and questions the salutary but critical terrours of the cautery and the knife. He takes a poor credit even from his defeat; and covers impotence under the mask of lenity. He praises the moderation of the laws, as, in his hands, he sees them baffled and despised. Is all this, because in our day the statutes of the

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[&]quot; Mussabat lacito medicina timore."

kingdom are not engroffed in as firm a character, and imprinted in as black and legible a type as ever? No! the law is a clear, but it is a dead letter. Dead and putrid, it is infufficient to fave the state, but potent to infect and to kill. Living law, full of reason, and of equity and justice, (as it is, or it should not exist) ought to be severe and awful too; or the words of menace, whether written on the parchment roll of England, or cut into the brazen tablet of Rome, will excite nothing but contempt. How comes it, that in all the flate profecutions of magnitude, from the Tvolution to within these two or three years, the crown has scarcely ever retired diffraced and deseated from its courts? Whence this alarming change haby a connection easily felt, and not impossible to be traced to its cause, all the parts of the Rate have their correspondence and consent. They who bow to the enemy abroad will not be of power to subdue the conspirator at home. It is impossible not to observe, that in proportion as we approximate to the poisonous jaws of anarchy, the fascination grows irrefilible. In proportion as we are attracted towards the focus of illegality, irreligion, and defperate enterprife, all the venomous and blighting infects of the state are awakened into dife. promise of the year is blasted, and shrivelled, and burned up before them. Our most salutary and most beautiful institutions yield nothing but dust andi

and finut: the harvest of our law is no more than stubble. It is in the nature of these eruptive diseases in the state to fink in by sits and re-appear. But the suel of the malady remains; and in my opinion is not in the smallest degree mitigated in its malignity, though it waits the favourable moment of a freer communication with the source of regicide to exert and to increase its sorce:

Is it that the people are changed; that the commonwealth cannot be protected by its laws? I hardly think it. On the contrary, I conceive, that these things happen because men are not changed, but remain always what they always were; they remain what the bulk of us must ever be, when abandoned to our vulgar propenfities, without guide, leader, or control: that is, made to be full of a blind elevation in prosperity; to despife untried dangers; to be overpowered with unexpected reverses; to find no clue in a labyrinth of difficulties; to get out of a present inconvenience with any risk of future ruin; to follow and to bow to fortune: to admire successful though wicked enterprise, and to imitate what we admire; to contemn the government which announces danger from factilege and regicide, whilst they are only in their infancy and their struggle; but which finds nothing that can alarm in their adult state and in the power and triumph of those destructive principles. In a mass Vota VIII. H

we cannot be left to ourselves. We must have leaders. If none will undertake to lead us right, we shall find guides who will contrive to conduct us to shame and ruin.

We are in a war of a peculiar nature. It is not with an ordinary community, which is hostile or friendly as pallion or as interest may veer about: not with a State which makes war through wantonness, and abandons it through lassitude. are at war with a fystem, which, by its effence, is imimical to all other Governments, and which makes peace or war, as peace and war may best contribute to their Subversion. It is with an armed doctrine, that we are at war. It has, by its effence, a faction of opinion, and of interest, and of enthusialm, in every country. To us it is a Coloffus which bestrides our channel. It has one foot on a foreign shore, the other upon the British soil. Thus advantaged, if it can at all exist, it must finally prevail. Nothing can fo completely ruin any of the old Governments, ours in particular, as the acknowledgment, directly or by implication, of any kind of faperiority in this new power. This acknowledgment we make, if in a bad or doubtful fituation of our affairs, we folicit peace; or if we vield to the modes of new humiliation, in which alone she is content to give us an hearing. By that means the terms cannot be of our choosing; no, not in any part.

It is laid in the unalterable conflictution of things:-None can aspire to act greatly, but those who are of force greatly to fuffer. They who made their arrangements in the first run of misadventure, and in a temper of mind the common fruit of disappointment and dismay, put a feal on their calamities. To their power they take a fecurity against any favours which they might hope from the usual inconstancy of fortune. I am therefore, my dear friend, invariably of your opinion (though full of respect for those who think differently) that neither the time chosen for it, nor the manner of foliciting a negotiation, were properly confidered; even though I had allowed (I hardly shall allow) that with the horde of regicides we could by any felection of time, or use of means, obtain any thing at all deferving the name of peace.

In one point we are lucky. The regicide has received our advances with scorn. We have an enemy, to whose virtues we can owe nothing; but on this occasion we are infinitely obliged to one of his vices. We owe more to his insolence than to our own precaution. The haughtiness by which the proud repel us, has this of good in it; that in making us keep our distance, they must keep their distance too. In the present case, the pride of the regicide may be our safety. He has given time for our reason to operate; and for British dignity to recover from its surprise. From first to last he

has rejected all our advances. Far as we have gone he has still left a way open to our retreat.

There is always an augury to be taken of what a peace is likely to be, from the preliminary steps that are made to bring it about. We may gather fomething from the time in which the first overtures are made; from the quarter whence they come; from the manner in which they are received. These discover the temper of the parties. If your enemy offers peace in the moment of fuccess, it indicates that he is fatisfied with fomething. It shews that there are limits to his ambition or his resentment. If he offers nothing under misfortune, it is probable, that it is more painful to him to abandon the profpect of advantage than to endure calamity. If he rejects folicitation, and will not give even a nod to the fuppliants for peace, until a change in the fortune of the war threatens him with ruin, then I think it evident, that he wishes nothing more than to disarm his adversary to gain time. Afterwards a question arises, which of the parties is likely to obtain the greater advantages, by continuing difarmed and by the use of time.

With these few plain indications in our minds, it will not be improper to re-consider the conduct of the enemy together with our own, from the day that a question of peace has been in agitation. In considering this part of the question, I do not proceed on my own hypothesis. I suppose, for a mo-

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ment, that this body of regicide, calling itself a republick, is a politick person, with whom something deserving the name of peace may be made. On that supposition, let us examine our own proceeding. Let us compute the profit it has brought, and the advantage that it is likely to bring hereafter. A peace too eagerly fought, is not always the fooner The discovery of vehement wishes geobtained. nerally frustrates their attainment; and your adverfary has gained a great advantage over you when he finds you impatient to conclude a treaty. There is in referve, not only fomething of dignity, but a great deal of prudence too. A fort of courage belongs to negotiation as well as to operations of the A negotiator must often seem willing to hazard the whole issue of his treaty, if he wishes to fecure any one material point.

The regicides were the first to declare war. We are the first to sue for peace. In proportion to the humility and perseverance we have shewn in our addresses, has been the obstinacy of their arrogance in rejecting our suit. The patience of their pride seems to have been worn out with the importunity of our courtship. Disgusted as they are with a conduct so different from all the sentiments by which they are themselves silled, they think to put an end to our vexatious solicitation by redoubling their insults.

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It happens frequently, that pride may reject a publick advance, while interest listens to a secret fuggestion of advantage. The opportunity has been afforded. At a very early period in the diplomacy of humiliation, a gentleman was fent on an errand*, of which, from the motive of it, whatever the event might be, we can never be ashamed. Humanity cannot be degraded by humiliation. is its very character to fubmit to fuch things. There is a confanguinity between benevolence and humility. They are virtues of the fame stock. Dignity is of as good a race; but it belongs to the family of fortitude. In the spirit of that benevolence, we fent a gentleman to befeech the directory of regicide, not to be quite fo prodigal as their republick had been of judicial murder. We folicited them to spare the lives of some unhappy persons of the first distinction, whose safety at other times could not have been an object of folicitation. They had quitted France on the faith of the declaration of the rights of citizens. They never had been in the fervice of the regicides, nor at their hands had received any stipend. The very system and constitution of government that now prevails, was fettled fubsequent to their emigration. They were under the protection of Great Britain, and in his Majesty's pay and fervice. Not an hostile invasion, but the

difasters

^{*} Mr. Bird sent to state the real situation of the Duc de Choiseul.

difasters of the sea had thrown them upon a shore, more barbarous and inhospitable than the inclement ocean under the most pitiless of its storms. Here was an opportunity to express a feeling for the miferies of war; and to open fome fort of converfation, which (after our publick overtures had glutted their pride), at a cautious and jealous distance. might lead to fomething like an accommodation. What was the event? A strange uncouth thing, a theatrical figure of the opera, his head shaded with three-coloured plumes, his body fantastically habited, strutted from the back scenes, and after a fhort speech, in the mock heroick sassetto of stupid tragedy, delivered the gentleman who came to make the representation into the custody of a guard, with directions not to lose fight of him for a moment; and then ordered him to be fent from Paris in two hours.

Here it is impossible, that a sentiment of tenderness should not strike athwart the sternness of politicks, and make us recal to painful memory, the difference between this insolent and bloody theatre, and the temperate, natural majesty of a civilized court, where the afflicted family of Asgill did not in vain solicit the mercy of the highest in rank, and the most compassionate of the compassionate sex-

In this intercourse, at least, there was nothing to promise a great deal of success in our suture advances. Whilst the fortune of the field was wholly H 4 with

with the regicides, nothing was thought of but to follow where it led; and it led to every thing. Not fo much as a talk of treaty. Laws were laid down with arrogance. The most moderate politician in their clan* was chosen as the organ, not so much for prescribing limits to their claims, as to mark what, for the present, they are content to leave to others. They made, not laws, not conventions, not late possession, but physical nature, and political convenience, the fole foundation of their claims. The Rhine, the Mediterranean, and the ocean were the bounds which, for the time, they affigned to the empire of regicide. What was the chamber of union of Louis the Fourteenth, which aftonished and provoked all Europe, compared to this declaration? In truth, with these limits, and their principle, they would not have left even the shadow of liberty or fafety to any nation. This plan of empire was not taken up in the first intoxication of unexpected fuccess. You must recollect, that it was projected, just as the report has stated it, from the very first revolt of the faction against their monarchy; and it has been uniformly purfued, as a standing maxim of national policy, from that time to this. It is, generally, in the feafon of prosperity that men discover their real temper, principles, and defigns. But this principle fuggested in their first struggles, fully avowed in their

9 Boissy d'Anglas.

prosperity,

prosperity, has, in the most adverse state of their affairs, been tenaciously adhered to. The report, combined with their conduct, forms an infallible criterion of the views of this republick.

In their fortune there has been some fluctuation. We are to see how their minds have been affected with a change. Some impression it made on them undoubtedly. It produced some oblique notice of the submissions that were made by suppliant nations. The utmost they did, was to make some of those cold, formal, general professions of a love of peace which no Power has ever refused to make; because they mean little, and cost nothing. The first paper I have seen (the publication at Hamburgh) making a shew of that pacifick disposition, discovered a rooted animosity against this nation, and an incurable rancour, even more than any one of their hostile acts. In this Hamburgh declaration, they choose to suppose, that the war, on the part of England, is a war of Government, begun and carried on against the sense and interests of the people; thus sowing in their very overtures towards peace, the feeds of tumult and sedition: for they never have abandoned, and never will they abandon, in peace, in war, in treaty, in any fituation, or for one instant, their old fleady maxim of separating the people from their Government. Let me add-and it is with unfeigned anxiety for the character and credit of ministers

ministers that I do add—if our government perfeweres, in its as uniform course, of acting under instruments with such preambles, it pleads guilty to the charges made by our enemies against it, both on its own part, and on the part of parliament itself. The enemy must succeed in his plan for loosening and disconnecting all the internal holdings of the kingdom.

It was not enough, that the speech from the Throne in the opening of the fession in 1795, threw out oglings and glances of tenderness. Lest this coquetting should seem too cold and ambiguous, without waiting for its effect, the violent paffion for a relation to the regicides, produced a direct message from the crown, and its consequences from the two Houses of Parliament. On the part of the regicides these declarations could not be entirely passed by without notice; but in that notice they discovered still more clearly the bottom of their character. The offer made to them by the message to Parliament was hinted at in their answer; but in an obscure and oblique manner as before. They accompanied their notice of the indications manifested on our fide. with every kind of infolent and taunting reflection. The regicide directory, on the day which, in their gipfey jargon, they call the 5th of Pluviofe, in return for our advances; charge us with eluding our declarations under "evalive formalities "and frivolous pretexts." What these pretexts and evafions were, they do not fay, and I have never heard. But they do not rest there. They proceed to charge us, and, as it should seem, our allies in the mass, with direct perfidy; they are so conciliatory in their language as to hint that this perfidious character is not new in our proceedings. However, notwithstanding this our habitual perfidy, they will offer peace "on conditions as mo-"derate"-as what? as reason and as equity require? No! as moderate "as are fuitable to "their national dignity." National dignity in all treaties I do admit is an important consideration. They have given us an useful hint on that subject: but dignity, hitherto, has belonged to the mode of proceeding, not to the matter of a treaty. Never before has it been mentioned as the standard for rating the conditions of peace; no, never by the most violent of conquerors. Indemnification is capable of some estimate; dignity has no standard. It is impossible to guess what acquisitions pride and ambition may think fit for their dignity. But left any doubt should remain on what they think for their dignity, the regicides in the next paragraph tell us "that they will have no peace with their " enemies, until they have reduced them to a " state, which will put them under an impossibility so of pursuing their wretched projects;" that is, in plain French or English, until they have accomplished plished our utter and irretrievable ruin. This is their pacifick language. It flows from their unalterable principle in whatever language they speak, or whatever steps they take, whether of real war, or of pretended pacification. They have never, to do them justice, been at much trouble in concealing their intentions. We were as obstinately resolved to think them not in earnest: but I confess jests of this fort, whatever their urbanity may be, are not much to my taste.

To this conciliatory and amicable publick communication, our fole answer, in effect, is this—"Citizen regicides! whenever you find yourselves "in the humour, you may have a peace with us. "That is a point you may always command. We are constantly in attendance, and nothing you "can do shall hinder us from the renewal of our fupplications. You may turn us out at the "door; but we will jump in at the window."

To those who do not love to contemplate the fall of human greatness, I do not know a more mortifying spectacle, than to see the assembled majesty of the crowned heads of Europe waiting as patient suitors in the anti-chamber of regicide. They wait, it seems, until the sanguinary tyrant Carnot, shall have snorted away the sumes of the indigested blood of his sovereign. Then, when sunk on the down of usurped pomp, he shall have sufficiently indulged his meditations with what monarch

monarch he shall next glut his ravening maw, he may condescend to signify that it is his pleasure to be awake: and that he is at leifure to receive the proposals of his high and mighty clients for the terms on which he may respite the execution of the fentence he has passed upon them. At the opening of those doors, what a fight it must be to behold the plenipotentiaries of royal impotence, in the preces dency which they will intrigue to obtain, and which will be granted to them according to the feniority of their degradation, fneaking into the regicide presence, and with the relicks of the smile, which they had dreffed up for the levee of their masters, still flickering on their curled lips, presenting the faded remains of their courtly graces, to meet the scornful, ferocious, sardonick grin of a bloody ruffian, who, whilft he is receiving their homage, is measuring them with his eye, and sitting to their fize the flider of his guillotine! These ambassadors may eafily return as good courtiers as they went; but can they ever return from that degrading residence, loyal and faithful subjects; or with any true affection to their master, or true attachment to the constitution, religion, or laws of their country? There is great danger that they who enter smiling into this Trophonian cave, will come out of it fad and ferious conspirators; and fuch will continue as long as they live. They will become true conductors of contagion to every country.

country, which has had the misfortune to fend them to the fource of that electricity. At best they will become totally indifferent to good and evil, to one institution or another. This species of indifference is but too generally distinguishable in those who have been much employed in foreign courts; but in the present case the evil must be aggravated without measure; for they go from their country, not with the pride of the old character, but in a state of the lowest degradation; and what must happen in their place of residence can have no effect in raising them to the level of true dignity, or of chaste self-estimation, either as men, or as representatives of crowned heads.

Our early proceeding, which has produced these returns of affront, appeared to me totally new, without being adapted to the new circumstances of affairs. I have called to my mind the speeches and messages in former times. I find nothing like these. You will look in the journals to find whether my memory fails me. Before this time, never was a ground of peace laid, (as it were, in a parliamentary record) until it had been as good as concluded. This was a wise homage paid to the discretion of the crown. It was known how much a negotiation must suffer by having any thing in the train towards it prematurely disclosed. But when those parliamentary declarations were made.

made, not so much as a step had been taken towards a negotiation in any mode whatever. The meafure was an unpleasant and unseasonable discovery.

I conceive that another circumstance in that transaction has been as little authorized by any example; and that it is as little prudent in itself; I mean the formal recognition of the French Republick. Without entering, for the present, into a question on the good faith manifested in that measure, or on its general policy, I doubt, upon mere temporary confiderations of prudence, whether it was perfectly adviseable. It is not within the rules of dexterous conduct to make an acknowledgment of a contested title in your enemy, before you are morally certain that your recognition will fecure his friendship. Otherwise it is a measure worse than thrown away. It adds infinitely to the strength, and consequently to the demands of the adverse party. He has gained a fundamental point without an equivalent. It has happened as might have been foreseen. No no-- tice whatever was taken of this recognition. In fact, the directory never gave themselves any concern about it; and they received our acknowledgment with perfect fcorn, With them it is not for the states of Europe to judge of their title: the very reverse. In their eye the title of every other power depends wholly on their pleasure.

Preliminary declarations of this fort, thrown out

out at random, and sown, as it were, broad-cast, were never to be found in the mode of our proceeding with France and Spain, whilst the great monarchies of France and Spain existed. I do not fay, that a diplomatick measure ought to be, like a parliamentary or a judicial proceeding, according to strict precedent. I hope I am far from that pedantry: But this I know, that a great state ought to have some regard to its ancient maxims; especially where they indicate its dignity; where they concur with the rules of prudence; and above all, where the circumstances of the time require that a spirit of innovation should be resisted, which leads to the humiliation of fovereign powers. It would be ridiculous to affert, that those powers have fuffered nothing in their estimation. I admit, that the greater interests of state will for a moment supersede all other considerations: but if there was a rule that a fovereign never should let down his dignity without a fure payment to his interest, the dignity of Kings would be held high enough. At present, however, fashion governs in more serious things than furniture and dress. It looks as if fovereigns abroad were emulous in bidding against their estimation. It seems as if the preeminence of regicide was acknowledged; and that kings tacitly ranked themselves below their sacrilegious murderers, as natural magistrates and judges over them. It appears as if dignity were the prerogative

prerogative of crime; and a temporifing humiliation the proper part for venerable authority. If the vilest of mankind are resolved to be the most wicked, they lose all the baseness of their origin, and take their place above kings. This example in foreign princes, I trust, will not spread. It is the concern of mankind, that the destruction of order should not be a claim to rank: that crimes should not be the only title to pre-eminence and honour.

At this second stage of humiliation, (I mean the infulting declaration in consequence of the message to both Houses of Parliament) it might not have been amiss to pause; and not to squander away the fund of our fubmissions, until we knew what final purposes of publick interest they might answer. The policy of subjecting ourselves to further infults is not to me quite apparent. It was refolved, however, to hazard a third trial. Citizen Barthelemi had been established on the part of the. new republick, at Basle; where, with his proconfulate of Switzerland and the adjacent parts of Germany, he was appointed as a fort of factor to deal in the degradation of the crowned heads of Europe. At Basse it was thought proper, in order to keep others, I suppose, in countenance, that Great Britain should appear at this market, and bid with the rest, for the mercy of the people-king.

On the 6th of March 1796, Mr. Wickham, in Vol. VIII. I consequence

consequence of authority, was desired to sound France on her disposition towards a general pacification; to know whether she would consent to send ministers to a congress at such a place as might be hereafter agreed upon; whether there would be a disposition to communicate the general grounds of a pacification such as France (the diplomatick name of the regicide power) would be willing to propose, as a foundation for a negociation for peace with his majesty and his allies; or to suggest any other way of arriving at the same end of a general pacification; but he had no authority to enter into any negotiation or discussion with Citizen Barthelemi upon these subjects.

On the part of Great Britain this measure was a voluntary act, wholly uncalled for on the part of regicide. Suits of this fort are at least strong indications of a desire for accommodation. Any other body of men but the directory would be somewhat soothed with such advances. They could not however begin their answer, which was given without much delay, and communicated on the 28th of the same month, without a preamble of insult and reproach. "They doubt the since-rity of the pacifick intentions of this court." She did not begin, say they, yet to "know her real interests," "she did not seek peace with good faith." This, or something to this effect, has been the constant preliminary observation, (now grown into a

fort of office-form) on all our overtures to this power: a perpetual charge on the British government of fraud, evasion, and habitual persidy.

It might be asked, from whence did these opinions of our infincerity and ill faith arise? It was, because the British ministry (leaving to the directory however to propose a better mode) proposed a congress for the purpose of a general pacification, and this they said "would render negotiation endless." From hence they immediately inferred a fraudulent intention in the offer. Unquestionably their mode of giving the law would bring matters to a more speedy conclusion. As to any other method more agreeable to them than a congress, an alternative expressly proposed to them, they did not condescend to signify their pleasure.

This refusal of treating conjointly with the powers allied against this republick, surnishes matter for a great deal of serious resection. They have hitherto constantly declined any other than a treaty with a single power. By thus dissociating every state from every other, like deer separated from the herd, each power is treated with, on the merit of his being a deserter from the common cause. In that light the regicide power sinding each of them insulated and unprotected, with great facility gives the law to them all. By this system, for the present an incurable distrust is sown amongst consederates; and in future all alliance is

rendered impracticable. It is thus they have treated with Prussia, with Spain, with Sardinia, with Bavaria, with the Ecclesiastical State, with Saxony; and here we see them refuse to treat with Great Britain in any other mode. They must be worse than blind who do not see with what undeviating regularity of system, in this case and in all cases, they pursue their scheme for the utter destruction of every independent power; especially the smaller, who cannot find any refuge whatever but in some common cause.

Renewing their taunts and reflections, they tell Mr. Wickham, "that their policy has no guides "but openness and good faith, and that their con-"duct shall be conformable to these principles." They say concerning their government, that "yield-"ing to the ardent desire by which it is animated to procure peace for the French republick, and for all nations, it will not fear to declare itself openly. Charged by the constitution with the execution of the laws, it cannot make or listen to any proposal that would be contrary to them. The constitutional act does not permit it to confent to any alienation of that which, according to the existing laws, constitutes the territory of the republick."

"With respect to the countries occupied by the "French armies and which have not been united to "France, they, as well as other interests political "and

"and commercial, may become the subject of a "negotiation, which will present to the directory "the means of proving how much it desires to "attain speedily to a happy pacification. That "the directory is ready to receive in this respect "any overtures that shall be just, reasonable, and "compatible with the dignity of the republick." On the head of what is not to be the subject of negotiation, the directory is clear and open. As to what may be a matter of treaty, all this open dealing is gone. She retires into her shell. There she expects overtures from you—and you are to guess what she shall judge just, reasonable, and above all, compatible with her dignity.

In the records of pride there does not exist so insulting a declaration. It is insolent in words, in manner, but in substance it is not only insulting but alarming. It is a specimen of what may be expected from the masters we are preparing for our humbled country. Their openness and candour consist in a direct avowal of their despotism and ambition. We know that their declared resolution had been to surrender no object belonging to France previous to the war. They had resolved, that the republick was entire, and must remain so. As to what she has conquered from the allies and united to the same indivisible body, it is of the same nature. That is, the allies are to give up whatever conquests they have made or may make

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upon France, but all which she has violently ravished from her neighbours, and thought sit to appropriate, are not to become so much as objects of negotiation.

In this unity and indivisibility of possession are funk ten immense and wealthy provinces, full of strong, flourishing and opulent cities, (the Austrian Netherlands,) the part of Europe the most necesfary to preserve any communication between this kingdom and its natural allies, next to Holland the most interesting to this country, and without which Holland must virtually belong to France. Savoy and Nice, the keys of Italy, and the citadel in her hands to bridle Switzerland, are in that confolidation. The important territory of Liege is torn out of the heart of the empire. All these are integrant parts of the republick, not to be subject to any discussion, or to be purchased by any equivalent. Why? because there is a law which prevents it. What law? The law of nations? The acknowledged publick law of Europe? Treaties and conventions of parties? No! not a pretence of the kind. It is a declaration not made in consequence of any prescription on her side, not on any cession or dereliction, actual or tacit, of other It is a declaration pendente lite in the powers. middle of a war, one principal object of which was originally the defence, and has fince been the recovery of these very countries.

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This strange law is not made for a trivial object, not for a single port, or for a single fortress, but for a great kingdom; for the religion, the morals, the laws, the liberties, the lives and fortunes of millions of human creatures, who without their consent, or that of their lawful government, are, by an arbitrary act of this regicide and homicide government, which they call a law, incorporated into their tyranny.

In other words, their will is the law, not only at home, but as to the concerns of every nation. Who has made that law but the regicide republick itself, whose laws, like those of the Medes and Persians, they cannot alter or abrogate, or even so much as take into confideration? Without the least ceremony or compliment, they have fent out of the world whole fets of laws and lawgivers. They have swept away the very constitutions under which the legislatures acted, and the laws were made. Even the fundamental facred rights of man they have not scrupled to profane. have fet this holy code at nought with ignominy and fcorn. Thus they treat all their domestick laws and constitutions, and even what they had considered as a law of Nature; but whatever they have put their feal on for the purposes of their ambition, and the ruin of their neighbours, this alone is invulnerable, impaffable, immortal. Assuming to be masters of every thing human and divine, here, ΙΔ and

and here alone, it seems they are limited, "cooped and cabined in;" and this omnipotent legislature finds itself wholly without the power of exercising its favourite attribute, the love of peace. In other words, they are powerful to usurp, impotent to restore; and equally by their power and their impotence they aggrandize themselves, and weaken and impoverish you and all other nations.

Nothing can be more proper or more manly than the state publication called a note on this proceeding, dated Downing-street, the 10th of April, 1796. Only that it is better expressed, it perfectly agrees with the opinion I have taken the liberty of submitting to your consideration.* I place it below

- * "This Court has feen, with regret, how far the tone and spirit of that answer, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any dispositions for peace.
- "The inadmissible pretension is there avowed of appropriating to France all that the laws existing there may have comprised under the denomination of French territory. To a demand such as this, is added an express declaration that no proposal contrary to it will be made, or even listened to. And even this, under the pretence of an internal regulation, the provisions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations.
 - "While these dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the King, but to prosecute a war equally just and necessary.
 - "Whenever his enemies shall manifest more pacifick sentiments, his Majesty will, at all times, be eager to concur in them,

below at full length as my justification in thinking that this aftonishing paper from the Directory is not only a direct negative to all treaty, but is a rejection of every principle upon which treaties could be made. To admit it for a moment were to erect this power, usurped at home, into a legislature to govern mankind. It is an authority that on a thousand occasions they have afferted in claim, and whenever they are able, exerted in practice. dereliction of this whole scheme of policy became, therefore, an indispensable previous condition to all renewal of treaty. The remark of the British cabinet on this arrogant and tyrannical claim is natural and unavoidable. Our ministry state, "That while these dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the king but to prosecute a war that is just and necessary."

It was of course, that we should wait until the enemy shewed some fort of disposition on his part

by lending himself, in concert with his allies, to all such measures as shall be calculated to re-establish general tranquillity on conditions just, honourable and permanent, either by the establishment of a general congress, which has been so happily the means of restoring peace to Europe, or by a preliminary discussion of the principles which may be proposed, on either side, as a soundation of a general pacification; or, lastly, by an impartial examination of any other way which may be pointed out to him for arriving at the same salutary end."

Downing-fircet, April 10, 1796.

to fulfil this condition. It was hoped indeed that our suppliant strains might be suffered to steal into the august ear in a more propitious season. That feafon, however, invoked by fo many vows, conjurations and prayers, did not come. Every declazation of hostility renovated, and every act pursued with double animosity—the over-running of Lombardy—the subjugation of Piedmont—the possesfion of its impregnable fortreffes—the feizing on all the neutral states of Italy—our expulsion from Leghorn-instances for ever renewed, for our expulsion from Genoa-Spain rendered subject to them and hostile to us-Portugal bent under the 'yoke-half the empire over-run and ravaged, were the only figns which this mild republick thought proper to manifest of her pacifick sentiments. Every demonstration of an implacable rancour and an untameable pride were the only encouragements we received to the renewal of our supplications.

Here therefore they and we were fixed. Nothing was left to the British ministry but "to prosecute a war just and necessary"—a war equally just as at the time of our engaging in it—a war become ten times more necessary by every thing which happened afterwards. This resolution was soon, however, forgot. It felt the heat of the season and melted away. New hopes were entertained from supplication. No expectations, indeed, were then formed

formed from renewing a direct application to the French regicides through the agent-general for the humiliation of fovereigns. At length a step was taken in degradation which even went lower than all the rest. Desicient in merits of our own. a mediator was to be fought-and we looked for that mediator at Berlin! The king of Pruffia's merits in abandoning the general cause might have obtained for him some fort of influence in favour of those whom he had deserted: but I have never heard that his Prussian majesty had lately discovered so marked an affection for the court of St. James's, or for the court of Vienna, as to excite much hope of his interpoling a very powerful mediation to deliver them from the distresses into which he had brought them.

If humiliation is the element in which we live, if it is become not only our occasional policy but our habit, no great objection can be made to the modes in which it may be diversified; though, I confess, I cannot be charmed with the idea of our exposing our lazar fores at the door of every proud servitor of the French republick, where the court, dogs will not deign to lick them. We had, if I am not mistaken, a minister at that court, who might try its temper, and recede and advance as he found backwardness or encouragement. But to send a gentleman there on no other errand than this, and with no assurance whatever that he should

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not find, what he did find, a repulse, seems to me to go far beyond all the demands of a humiliation merely politick. I hope, it did not arise from a predilection for that mode of conduct.

The cup of bitterness was not, however, drained to the dregs. Balle and Berlin were not fufficient. After so many and so diversified repulses, we were refolved to make another experiment, and to try another mediator. Among the unhappy gentlemen in whose persons royalty is insulted and degraded at the feat of plebeian pride, and upstart insolence, there is a minister from Denmark at Paris. out any previous encouragement to that, any more than the other steps, we fent through this turnpike to demand a passport for a person who on our part was to folicit peace in the metropolis, at the footstool of regicide itself. It was not to be expected that any one of those degraded beings could have influence enough to fettle any part of the terms in favour of the candidates for further degradation; befides, fuch intervention would be a direct breach in their system, which did not permit one fovereign power to utter a word in the concerns of his equal.—Another repulse.—We were defired to apply directly in our persons.— We submitted and made the application.

It might be thought that here, at length, we had touched the bottom of humiliation; our lead was brought up covered with mud. But "in the "lowest

"lowest deep, a lower deep" was to open for us ftill more profound abysses of disgrace and shame. However, in we leaped. We came forward in our own name. The passport, such a passport and safe conduct as would be granted to thieves, who might come in to betray their accomplices, and no better, was granted to British supplication. To leave no doubt of its spirit, as soon as the rumour of this act of condescension could get abroad, it was formally announced with an explanation from authority, containing an invective against the ministry of Great Britain, their habitual frauds, their proverbial, punick perfidy. No fuch state paper, as a preliminary to a negotiation for peace, has ever yet appeared. Very few declarations of war have ever fhewn fo much and fo unqualified animofity. place it below * as a diplomatick curiofity, and in order to be the better understood, in the few remarks I have to make upon a piece which indeed defies

[.] Official Note, extracted from the Journal of the Defenders of the Country.

[&]quot; Executive Directory.

Different Journals have advanced that an English plenipotentiary had reached Paris, and had presented himself to the executive directory, but that his propositions not having appeared fatisfactory, he had received orders infantly to quit France.

[&]quot; All these affertions are equally false.

[&]quot;The notices given, in the English papers, of a minister having been fent to Paris, there to treat of peace, bring to recollection

all description—" None but itself can be its parallel."

I pass

collection the overtures of Mr. Wickham to the ambassador of the republick at Baile, and the rumours circulated relative to the mission of Mr. Hammond to the court of Prussia. The infigmificance, or rather the subtle duplicity, the PUNICK style of Mr. Wickham's note, is not forgotten. According to the partifans of the English ministry, it was to Paris that Mr. Hammond was to come to speak for peace: when his destination became publick, and it was known that he went to Prussia, the same writer repeated that it was to accelerate a peace, and, notwithstanding the object, now well known, of this negotiation, was to engage Pruffia to break her treaties with the republick, and to return into the coalition-the court of Berlin, faithful to its engagements, repulsed these perfidious propositions. But in converting this intrigue into a mission for peace, the English ministry joined to the hope of giving a new enemy to France, that of justin fying the continuance of the war in the eyes of the English nation, and of throwing all the odium of it on the French government. Such was also the aim of Mr. Wickham's note. Such is still that of the notices given at this time in the English papers.

"This aim will appear evident, if we reflect how difficult it is, that the ambitious government of England should sincerely wish for a peace that would fnatch from it its maritime preponderancy, would re-establish the freedom of the seas, would give a new impulse to the Spanish, Dutch, and French marines, and would carry to the highest degree of prosperity the industry and commerce of those nations in which it has always found rivals, and which it has considered as enemies of its commerce, when they were tired of being its dupes.

"But there will no longer be any credit given to the pacifick intentions of the English ministry, when it is known, that its gold and its intrigues, its open practices, and its infinuations, befiege more than

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I pass by all the insolence and contumely of the performance, as it comes from them. The present question is not how we are to be affected with it in regard to our dignity. That is gone. I shall say no more about it. Light lie the earth on the ashes of English pride. I shall only observe upon it politically, and as furnishing a direction for our own conduct in this low business.

The very idea of a negotiation for peace, whatever the inward fentiments of the party may be, implies some considence in their faith, some degree of belief in the professions which are made concerning it. A temporary and occasional credit, at least, is granted. Otherwise men stumble on the very threshold. I therefore wish to ask what hope we can have of their good faith, who, as the very basis of the negotiation, assume the ill faith and treachery of those they have to deal with?

ever the cabinet of Vienna, and are one of the principal obliacles to the negotiation which that cabinet would of itself be induced to enter on for peace.

of the rumour of these overtures being circulated is considered. The English nation supports impatiently the continuance of the war, a reply must be made to its complaints, its reprosentes: the parliament is about to re-open its sittings, the mouths of the orators who will declaim against the war must be shut, the demand of new taxes must be justified; and to obtain these results, it is necessary to be enabled to advance, that the French government resules every reasonable proposition of peace."

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The terms, as against us, must be such as imply a full security against a treacherous conduct—that is, such terms as this directory stated in its sirst declaration, to place us "in an utter impossibility of "executing our wretched projects." This is the omen, and the sole omen, under which we have consented to open our treaty.

The fecond observation I have to make upon it, (much connected undoubtedly with the first,) is, that they have informed you of the refult they propose from the kind of peace they mean to grant you; that is to fay, the union they propofe among nations, with the view of rivalling our trade and destroying our naval power: and this they suppose (and with good reason too) must be the inevitable effect of their peace. It forms one of their principal grounds for fuspecting our minifters could not be in good earnest in their propofition. They make no scruple before hand to tell you the whole of what they intend; and this is what we call, in the modern style, the acceptance of a proposition for peace! In old language it would be called a most haughty, offensive, and infolent rejection of all treaty.

Thirdly, they tell you what they conceive to be the perfidious policy which dictates your delufive offer; that is, the defign of cheating not only them, but the people of England, against whose interest and inclination this war is supposed to be carried on.

If we proceed in this business, under this preliminary declaration, it seems to me, that we admit. (now for the third time) by something a great deal stronger than words, the truth of the charges of every kind which they make upon the British miniftry, and the grounds of those foul imputations. The language used by us, which in other circumstances would not be exceptionable, in this case tends very strongly to confirm and realise the sufpicion of our enemy. I mean the declaration, that if we do not obtain fuch terms of peace as fuits our opinion of what our interests require, then, and in that case, we shall continue the war with vigour. This offer so reasoned, plainly implies, that without it, our leaders themselves entertain great doubts of the opinion and good affections of the British people; otherwise there does not appear any cause, why we should proceed under the scandalous construction of our enemy, upon the former offer made by Mr. Wickham, and on the new offer made directly at Paris. It is not, therefore, from a fense of dignity, but from the danger of radicating that false fentiment in the breasts of the enemy, that I think, under the auspices of this declaration, we cannot with the least hope of a good event, or indeed, with any regard to the common fafety, proceed in the train of this negotiation. I wish ministry would feriously consider the importance of their seeming to confirm the enemy in an opinion, that his fre-Vol. VIII. quent

quent use of appeals to the people against their government has not been without its effect. If it puts an end to this war, it will render another impracticable.

- Whoever goes to the directorial prefence under this passport, with this offensive comment, and foul explanation, goes, in the avowed fense of the court to which he is fent, as the instrument of a government diffociated from the interests and wishes of the nation, for the purpole of cheating both the people of France and the people of England. goes out the declared emissary of a faithless ministry. He has perfidy for his credentials. national weakness for his full powers. I yet doubt whether any one can be found to invest himself with that character. If there should, it would be pleafant to read his instructions on the answer which he is to give to the directory, in case they should repeat to him the substance of the manifesto which he carries with him in his portfolio.

So much for the first manifesto of the regicide court which went along with the passport. Lest this declaration should seem the effect of haste, or a mere sudden essuaion of pride and insolence, on full deliberation, about a week after comes out a second. This manifesto is dated the fifth of October, one day before the speech from the throne, on the vigil of the session day of cordial unanimity so happily celebrated by all parties in the British par-

liament. In this piece the regicides, our worthy friends (I call them by advance and by courtefy what by law I shall be obliged to call them hereafter), our worthy friends, I say, renew and enforce the former declaration concerning our faith and sincerity, which they pinned to our passport. On three other points which run through all their declarations, they are more explicit than ever.

First, they more directly undertake to be the real representatives of the people of this kingdom: and on a supposition, in which they agree with our parliamentary reformers, that the house of commons is not that representative, the function being vacant, they, as our true constitutional organ, inform his majesty and the world of the sense of the They tell us that "the English people " fee with regret his majesty's government squan-" dering away the funds which had been granted "to him." This aftonishing assumption of the publick voice of England, is but a flight foretafte of the usurpation which, on a peace, we may be affured they will make of all the powers in all the parts of our vaffal constitution. "If they do these "things in the green tree, what shall be done in " the dry?"

Next they tell us a condition to our treaty, that this government must abjure the unjust hatred it bears to them, and at last open its ears to the voice of humanity."—Truly this is, even from K 2 them,

them, an extraordinary demand. Hitherto it feems we have put wax into our ears to shut them up against the tender, soothing strains, in the affettuose of humanity, warbled from the throats of Reubel, Carnot, Tallien, and the whole chorus of confifcators, domiciliary vifitors, committee-men of refearch, jurors and prefidents of revolutionary tribunals, regicides, affaffins, maffacrers, and septembrifers. It is not difficult to differn what fort of humanity our government is to learn from these fyren fingers. Our government also, I admit with fome reason, as a step towards the proposed fraternity, is required to abjure the unjust hatred which it bears to this body of honour and virtue. I thank God I am neither a minister nor a leader of oppofition. I protest I cannot do what they defire. could not do it if I were under the guillotine; or as they ingeniously and pleasantly express it, "look-" ing out of the little national window." Even at that opening I could receive none of their light. I am fortified against all such affections by the declaration of the government, which I must yet confider as lawful, made on the 29th of October 1793*, and full ringing in my cars. This declaration

^{* &}quot;In their place has succeeded a system destructive of all "publick order, maintained by proscriptions, exiles and confiscations without number; by arbitrary imprisonment; by mass- sales which cannot be remembered without horrour; and at "length

ration was transmitted not only to all our commanders by sea and land, but to our ministers in every court of Europe. It is the most eloquent and highly finished in the style, the most judicious in the

" length by the execrable murder of a just and beneficent sove"reign, and of the illustrious princes, who, with an unshaken
"firmness, has thared all the missortunes of her royal consort,
"his protracted sufferings, his cruel captivity and his ignomi"nious death."—" They (the allies) have had to encounter acts
"of aggression without pretext, open violations of all treaties,
"unprovoked declarations of war; in a word, whatever cor"ruption, intrigue or violence could effect for the purpose so
"openly avowed, of subverting all the institutions of society, and
"of extending over all the nations of Europe that consustion,
"which has produced the misery of France."—

"This state of things cannot exist in France without involving 46 all the furrounding powers in one common danger, without " giving them the right, without imposing it upon them as a "duty, to stop the progress of an evil, which exists only by the " fuccessive violation of all law and all property, and which attacks 46 the fundamental principles by which mankind is united in the " bonds of civil fociety."-" The king would impose none other 46 than equitable and moderate conditions, not fuch as the ex-" pence, the risks and the facrifices of the war might justify; but fuch as his majesty thinks himself under the indispensable " necessity of requiring, with a view to these considerations, and 44 ftill more to that of his own fecurity and of the future tran-" quillity of Europe. His majesty detires nothing more sincerely " than thus to terminate a war, which he in vain endcavoured to " avoid, and all the calamities of which, as now experienced by " France, are to be attributed only to the ambition, the perfidy 44 and the violence of those, whose crimes have involved their " own country in mifery, and difgraced all civilized nations."-" The K 3

the choice of topicks, the most orderly in the arrangement, and the most rich in the colouring, without employing the smallest degree of exaggeration, of any state paper that has ever yet appeared. An ancient writer, Plutarch, I think it is, quotes some verses on the eloquence of Pericles, who is called "the only orator that left stings in "the minds of his hearers." Like his, the eloquence of the declaration, not contradicting, but enforcing sentiments of the truest humanity, has left stings that have penetrated more than skindeep into my mind; and never can they be extracted by all the surgery of murder; never can

"The king promifes on his part the suspension of hostilities, if friendship, and (as far as the course of events will allow, of which the will of man cannot dispose) security and protection to all those who, by declaring for a monarchical form of government, shall shake off the yoke of sanguinary anarchy; of that anarchy which has broken all the most sacred bonds of society, dissolved all the relations of civil life, violated every right, consounded every duty; which uses the name of liberty to exercise the most cruel tyranny, to annihilate all property, to society on all possessions; which sounds its power on the present tended consent of the people, and itself carries fire and sword through extensive provinces for having demanded their laws, their religion, and their lawful sovereign."

Declaration fent by his majefty's command to the commanders of his majefty's fleets and armies employed against France, and to his majefty's ministers enployed at foreign courts.

Whitchall, Oct. 29, 1793.

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the throbbings they have created, be affuaged by all the emollient cataplasms of robbery and confiscation. I cannot love the republick.

The third point which they have more clearly expressed than ever, is of equal importance with the rest; and with them furnishes a complete view of the regicide fystem. For they demand as a condition, without which our ambassador of obedience cannot be received with any hope of fuccess, that he shall be "provided with full powers to nego-"tiate a peace between the French republick and "Great Britain, and to conclude it definitively 46 between the Two powers." With their spear they draw a circle about us. They will hear nothing of a joint treaty. We must make a peace scparately from our allies. We must, as the very first and preliminary step, be guilty of that perfidy towards our friends and affociates, with which they reproach us in our transactions with them our enemies. We are called upon fcandalously to betray the fundamental fecurities to ourselves and to all nations. In my opinion (it is perhaps but a poor one) if we are meanly bold enough to fend an ambassador such as this official note of the enemy requires, we cannot even dispatch our emissary without danger of being charged with a breach of our alliance. Government now understands the full meaning of the passport.

K 4

Strange

Strange revolutions have happened in the ways of thinking and in the feelings of men: but, it is a very extraordinary coalition of parties indeed, and a kind of unheard-of unanimity in publick councils, which can impose this new-discovered fystem of negotiation, as found national policy on the understanding of a spectator of this wonderful scene, who judges on the principles of any thing he ever before saw, read, or heard of, and above all, on the understanding of a person who has in his eye the transactions of the last seven years.

I know it is supposed, that if good terms of capitulation are not granted, after we have thus fo repeatedly hung out the white flag, the national fpirit will revive with tenfold ardour. experiment cautiously to be made. Reculer pour mieux fauter, according to the French by-word, cannot be trusted to as a general rule of conduct. To diet a man into weakness and languor, afterwards to give him the greater strength, has more of the empirick than the rational physician. is true that some persons have been kicked into courage; and this is no bad hint to give to those who are too forward and liberal in bestowing infults and outrages on their passive companions. But fuch a course does not at first view appear a well-chosen discipline to form men to a nice sense of honour, or a quick refentment of injuries.

long habit of humiliation does not feem a very good preparative to manly and vigorous fentiment. It may not leave, perhaps, enough of energy in the mind fairly to difcern what are good terms or what are not. Men low and dispirited may regard those terms as not at all amiss, which in another state of mind they would think intolerable: if they grow peevish in this state of mind, they may be roused, not against the enemy whom they have been taught to fear, but against the ministry,* who are more within their reach, and who have resused conditions that are not unreasonable, from power that they have been taught to consider as irresistible.

If all that for some months I have heard have the least foundation, I hope it has not, the minifters are, perhaps, not quite so much to be blamed, as their condition is to be lamented. I have been given to understand, that these proceedings are not in their origin properly theirs. It is said that there is a secret in the house of commons. It is said that ministers act not according to the votes, but according to the dispositions, of the majority. I hear that the minority has long since spoken the general sense of the nation; and that to prevent those who compose it from having the open and avowed lead in that house, or perhaps in both houses, it was necessary to pre-occupy their ground,

[•] Ut lethargicus hic, cum fit pugil, et medicum urget. Hon.

and to take their propositions out of their mouths, even with the hazard of being afterwards reproached with a compliance which it was foreseen would be fruitless.

If the general disposition of the people be, as I hear it is, for an immediate peace with regicide, swithout fo much as confidering our publick and folemn engagements to the party in France whose cause we had espoused, or the engagements expressed in our general alliances, not only without an inquiry into the terms, but with a certain knowledge that none but the worst terms will be offered, it is all over with us. It is ftrange, but it may be true, that as the danger from jacobinism is increafed in my eyes and in yours, the fear of it is leffened in the eyes of many people who formerly regarded it with horrour. It feems, they act under the impression of terrours of another fort, which have frightened them out of their first apprehenfions. But let their fears or their hopes, or their defires, be what they will, they should recollect, that they who would make peace without a previous knowledge of the terms, make a furrender. They are conquered. They do not treat: they receive the law. Is this the disposition of the people of England? Then the people of England are contented to feek in the kindness of a foreign fystematick enemy, combined with a dangerous faction at home, a fecurity which they cannot find in their own patriotifin and their own courage. They They are willing to trust to the sympathy of regicides, the guarantee of the British monarchy. They are content to rest their religion on the piety of atheists by establishment. They are satisfied to seek in the elemency of practised murderers the security of their lives. They are pleased to conside their property to the safeguard of those who are robbers by inclination, interest, habit, and system. If this be our deliberate mind, truly we deserve to lose, what it is impossible we should long retain, the name of a nation.

In matters of state, a constitutional competence to act, is in many cases the smallest part of the question. Without disputing (God forbid I should dispute) the sole competence of the king and the parliament, each in its province, to decide on war and peace, I venture to fay, no war can be long carried on against the will of the people. This war, in particular, cannot be carried on unless they are enthusiastically in favour of it. Acquiescence will not do. There must be zeal. Universal zeal in fuch a cause, and at such a time as this is, cannot be looked for; neither is it necessary. Zeal in the larger part carries the force of the whole. Without this, no government, certainly not our government, is capable of a great war. None of the ancient regular governments have wherewithal to fight abroad with a foreign foe, and at home to overcome repining, reluctance, and chicane. It must

must be some portentous thing, like regicide France, that can exhibit such a prodigy. Yet even she, the mother of monsters, more prolifick than the country of old called Ferax monstrorum, shews symptoms of being almost effete already; and she will be so, unless the fallow of a peace comes to recruit her fertility. But whatever may be represented concerning the meanness of the popular spirit, I, for one, do not think so desperately of the British nation. Our minds, as I said, are light, but they are not depraved. We are dreadfully open to delusion and to dejection; but we are capable of being animated and undeceived.

It cannot be concealed. We are a divided people. But in divisions, where a part is to be taken, we are to make a muster of our strength. I have often endeavoured to compute and to class those who, in any political view, are to be called the people. Without doing fomething of this fort we must proceed absurdly. We should not be much wifer, if we pretended to very great accuracy in our estimate: but I think, in the calculation I have made, the errour cannot be very material. England and Scotland, I compute that those of adult age, not declining in life, of tolerable leifure for fuch discussions, and of some means of information, more, or less, and who are above menial dependence, (or what virtually is fuch) may amount to about four hundred thousand. There is such a thing

thing as a natural representative of the people. This body is that representative; and on this body, more than on the legal constituent, the artificial representative depends. This is the British publick; and it is a publick very numerous. The rest, when seeble, are the objects of protection; when strong, the means of force. They who affect to consider that part of us in any other light, infult while they cajole us; they do not want us for counsellors in deliberation, but to list us as soldiers for battle.

Of these four hundred thousand political citizens, I look upon one fifth, or about eighty thoufand, to be pure jacobins; utterly incapable of amendment; objects of eternal vigilance; and when they break out, of legal constraint. On these, no reason, no argument, no example, no venerable authority, can have the flightest influence. They defire a change; and they will have it if they can. If they cannot have it by English cabal, they will make no fort of scruple of having it by the cabal of France, into which already they are virtually incorporated. It is only their affured and confident expectation of the advantages of French fraternity and the approaching bleffings of regicide intercourse, that skins over their mischievous dispositions with a momentary quiet.

This minority is great and formidable. I do not know whether if I aimed at the total overthrow of a king-

a kingdom, I should wish to be encumbered with a larger body of partifans. They are more eafily disciplined and directed than if the number were greater. These, by their spirit of intrigue, and by their restless agitating activity, are of a force far superiour to their numbers; and if times grew the least critical, have the means of debauching or intimidating many of those who are now found, as well as of adding to their force large bodies of the more passive part of the nation. This minority is numerous enough to make a mighty cry for peace, or for war, or for any object they are led vehemently to defire. By passing from place to place with a velocity incredible, and diversifying their character and description, they are capable of mimicking the general voice. We must not always judge of the generality of the opinion by the noise of the acclamation.

The majority, the other four fifths, is perfectly found; and of the best possible disposition to religion, to government, to the true and undivided interest of their country. Such men are generally disposed to peace. They who are in possession of all they wish are languid and improvident. With this fault (and I admit its existence in all its extent) they would not endure to hear of a peace that led to the ruin of every thing for which peace is dear to them. However, the desire of peace is essentially the weak side of that kind of men. All

men that are ruined, are ruined on the side of their natural propensities. There they are unguarded. Above all, good men do not suspect that their destruction is attempted through their virtues. This their enemies are perfectly aware of: and accordingly, they, the most turbulent of mankind, who never make a scruple to shake the tranquillity of their country to its center, raise a continual cry for peace with France. Peace with regicide, and war with the rest of the world, is their motto. From the beginning, and even whilst the French gave the blows, and we hardly opposed the vis inertiae to their efforts, from that day to this hour, like importunate Guinea-sowls crying one note day and night, they have called for peace.

In this they are, as I confess in all things they are, perfectly consistent. They who wish to unite themselves to your enemies, naturally desire, that you should disarm yourself by a peace with these enemies. But it passes my conception, how they, who wish well to their country on its ancient system of laws and manners, come not to be doubly alarmed, when they find nothing but a clamour for peace, in the mouths of the men on earth the least disposed to it in their natural or in their habitual character.

I have a good opinion of the general abilities of the Jacobins: not that I suppose them better born than others; but strong passions awaken the faculties.

ties. They fuffer not a particle of the man to be The spirit of enterprise gives to this description the full use of all their native energies. have reason to conceive that my enemy, who, as fuch, must have an interest in my destruction, is also a person of discernment and sagacity, then I must be quite sure, that in a contest, the object he violently purfues, is the very thing by which my ruin is likely to be the most perfectly accomplished. Why do the Jacobins cry for peace? Because they know, that this point gained, the rest will follow of course. On our part, why are all the rules of prudence, as fure as the laws of material nature, to be at this time reversed? How comes it, that now, for the first time, men think it right to be governed by the counsels of their enemies? Ought they not rather to tremble, when they are perfuaded to travel on the same road; and to tend to the same place of rest?

The minority I speak of, is not susceptible of an impression from the topicks of argument to be used to the larger part of the community. I therefore do not address to them any part of what I have to say. The more forcibly I drive my arguments against their system, so as to make an impression where I wish to make it, the more strongly I rivet them in their sentiments. As for us, who compose the far larger, and what I call the far better part of the people; let me say, that we have not been quite

quite fairly dealt with when called to this deliberation. The Jacobin minority have been abundantly supplied with stores and provisions of all kinds towards their warfare. No fort of argumentative materials, suited to their purposes, have been withheld. False they are, unsound, sophistical; but they are regular in their direction. They all bear one way: and they all go to the support of the substantial merits of their cause. The others have not had the question so much as fairly stated to them.

There has not been in this century, any foreign peace or war, in its origin, the fruit of popular defire; except the war that was made with Spain in 1739. Sir Robert Walpole was forced into the war by the people, who were inflamed to this measure by the most leading politicians, by the first orators, and the greatest poets of the time. For that war, Pope fung his dying notes. For that war, Johnson, in more energetick strains, employed the voice of his early genius. For that war, Glover distinguished himself in the way in which his muse was the most natural and happy. The crowd readily followed the politicians in the cry for a war, which threatened little bloodfhed, and which promised victories that were attended with something more folid than glory. A war with Spain was a war of plunder. In the present conslict with regicide, Mr. Pitt has not hitherto had, nor will perhaps for a few days have, many prizes to hold out VOL. VIII. in

in the lottery of war, to tempt the lower part of our character. He can only maintain it by an appeal to the higher; and to those, in whom that higher part is the most predominant, he must look the most for his support. Whilst he holds out no inducements to the wise, nor bribes to the avaricious, he may be forced by a vulgar cry into a peace ten times more ruinous than the most disastrous war. The weaker he is in the fund of motives which apply to our avarice, to our laziness, and to our lassitude, if he means to carry the war to any end at all, the stronger he ought to be in his addresses to our magnanimity and to our reason.

In flating that Walpole was driven by a popular clamour into a measure not to be justified, I do not mean wholly to excuse his conduct. My time of observation did not exactly coincide with that event: but I read much of the controversies then carried on. Several years after the contests of parties had ceased, the people were amused, and in a degree warmed with them. The events of that æra feemed then of magnitude, which the revolutions of our time have reduced to parochial importance; and the debates, which then shook the nation, now appear of no higher moment than a discussion in a vestry. When I was very young, a general fashion told me I was to admire some of the writings against that minister; a little more maturity taught me as much to despise them. observed

bbserved one fault in his general proceeding. never manfully put forward the entire strength of his cause. He temporifed; he managed; adopting very nearly the fentiments of his adverfaries, he opposed their inferences. This, for a political commander, is the choice of a weak post. His adversaries had the better of the argument, as he handled it, not as the reason and justice of his cause enabled him to manage it. I say this, after having feen, and with some care examined, the original documents concerning certain important transactions of those times. They perfectly satisfied me of the extreme injustice of that war, and of the falsehood of the colours, which to his own ruin, and guided by a mistaken policy, he suffered to be daubed over that measure. Some years after, it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those, who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history, in which they were totally unconcerned. Thus it They who stir up the people to improper defires, whether of peace or war, will be condemned by themselves. They who weakly yield to them will be condemned by history.

In my opinion, the present ministry are as far

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from doing full justice to their cause in this war, as Walpole was from doing justice to the peace which at that time he was willing to preferve. They throw the light on one fide only of their case; though it is impossible they should not observe, that the other fide which is kept in the shade has its importance too. They must know, that France is formidable, not only as she is France, but as she is Jacobin France. They knew from the beginning that the jacobin party was not confined to that country. They knew, they felt, the strong dispofition of the same faction in both countries to communicate and to co-operate. For some time past, these two points have been kept, and even industriously kept, out of fight. France is considered as merely a foreign power; and the seditious English only as a domestick faction. The merits of the war with the former have been argued folely on political grounds. To prevent the mischievous doctrines of the latter, from corrupting our minds, matter and argument have been supplied abundantly, and even to furfeit, on the excellency of our own government. But nothing has been done to make us feel in what manner the fafety of that government is connected with the principle and with the issue of this war. For any thing, which in the late discussion has appeared, the war is entirely collateral to the state of jacobinisin; as truly a foreign war to us and to all our home concerns, as the war with Spain in 1739, about Garda-Costas, the Madrid Convention, and the fable of Captain Jenkins's ears.

Whenever the adverse party has raised a cry for peace with the regicide, the answer has been little more than this, "that the administration wished for " fuch a peace, full as much as the opposition; but "that the time was not convenient for making it." Whatever else has been faid was much in the fame Reasons of this kind never touched the substantial merits of the war. They were in the nature of dilatory pleas, exceptions of form, previous questions. Accordingly all the arguments against a compliance with what was represented as the popular defire, (urged on with all possible vehemence and earnestness by the jacobins) have appeared flat and languid, feeble and evalive. They appeared to aim only at gaining time. They never entered into the peculiar and distinctive character of the war. They spoke neither to the understanding nor to the heart. Cold as ice themselves, they never could kindle in our breast a spark of that zeal, which is necessary to a conflict with an adverse zeal; much less were they made to infuse into our minds, that stubborn persevering spirit, which alone is capable of bearing up against those viciflitudes of fortune, which will probably occur, and those burthens which must be inevitably borne in a long war. I fpeak it emphatically, and with a desire

defire that it should be marked, in a long war; because, without such a war, no experience has yet told us, that a dangerous power has ever been reduced to measure or to reason. I do not throw back my view to the Peloponnesian war of twentyfeven years; nor to two of the punick wars, the first of twenty-four, the second of eighteen; nor to the more recent war concluded by the treaty of Westphalia, which continued, I think, for thirty. I go to what is but just fallen behind living memory, and immediately touches our own country. Let the portion of our history from the year 1689 to 1713 be brought before us. We shall find, that in all that period of twenty-four years, there were hardly five that could be called a feafon of peace; and the interval between the two wars was in reality, nothing more than a very active preparation for renovated hostility. During that period, every one of the propolitions of peace came from the enemy: The first, when they were accepted, at the peace of Ryswick; the second, where they were rejected, at the congress at Gertrudenburgh; the last, when the war ended by the treaty of Utrecht. Even then, a very great part of the nation, and that which contained by far the most intelligent statesmen, was against the conclusion of I do not enter into the merits of that question as between the parties. I only state the existence of that opinion as a fact, from whence

you may draw fuch an inference as you think properly arises from it.

It is for us at prefent to recollect what we have been; and to consider what, if we please, we may be still. At the period of those wars, our principal strength was found in the resolution of the people; and that in the resolution of a part only of the then whole, which bore no proportion to our existing magnitude. England and Scotland were not united at the beginning of that mighty struggle. When, in the course of the contest, they were conjoined, it was in a raw, an ill-cemented, an unproductive union. For the whole duration of the war, and long after, the names, and other outward and visible signs of approximation, rather augmented than diminished our insular feuds. They were rather the causes of new discontents and new troubles, than promoters of cordiality and affection, The now fingle and potent Great Britain was then, not only two countries, but, from the party heats? in both, and the divisions formed in each of them, each of the old kingdoms within itself, in effect, was made up of two hostile nations. Ireland, now fo large a fource of the common opulence and power, and which wifely managed might be made much more beneficial and much more effective, was then the heaviest of the burthens. An army not much less than forty thousand men, was drawn from the general effort, to keep that king.

dom in a poor, unfruitful, and resourceless subjection.

Such was the state of the empire. The state of our finances was worse, if possible. branch of the revenue became less productive after the revolution. Silver, not as now a fort of counter, but the body of the current coin, was reduced fo low, as not to have above three parts in four of the value in the shilling. In the greater part the value hardly amounted to a fourth. It required a dead expence of three millions sterling to renew the coinage. Publick credit, that great but ambiguous principle, which has fo often been predicted as the cause of our certain ruin, but which for a century has been the constant companion, and often the means, of our prosperity and greatness, had its origin, and was cradled, I may fay, in bankruptcy and beggary. At this day we have feen parties contending to be admitted, at a moderate premium, to advance eighteen millions to the Exchequer. For infinitely fmaller loans, the chancellor of the exchequer of that day, Montagu, the father of publick credit, counter-securing the state by the appearance of the city with the Lord Mayor of London at his fide, was obliged, like a folicitor for an hospital, to go cap in hand from shop to shop, to borrow an hundred pound and even smaller sums. When made up in driblets as they could, their best fecurities were at an interest of 12 per cent. the

the paper of the Bank (now at par with cash, and generally preferred to it) was often at a discount of twenty per cent. By this the state of the rest may be judged.

As to our commerce, the imports and exports of the nation, now fix and forty million, did not then amount to ten. The inland trade, which is commonly passed by in this fort of estimates, but which, in part growing out of the foreign, and connected with it, is more advantageous, and more fubstantially nutritive to the state, is not only grown in a proportion of near five to one as the foreign, but' has been augmented, at least, in a tenfold propor-When I came to England, I remember but one river navigation, the rate of carriage on which was limited by an act of parliament. It was made in the reign of William the Third; I mean that of the Aire and Calder. The rate was fettled at thirteen pence. So high a price demonstrated the feebleness of these beginnings of our inland intercourfe. In my time, one of the longest and sharpest contests I remember in your house, and which rather resembled a violent contention amongst national parties than a local dispute, was, as well as I can recollect, to hold the price up to threepence. Even this, which a very scanty justice to the propriètors required, was done with infinite difficulty. As to private credit, there were not, as I believe, twelve bankers shops at that time out of London.

In this their number, when I first saw the country, I cannot be quite exact; but certainly those machines of domestick credit were then very few, They are now in almost every market town; and this circumstance (whether the thing be carried to an excess or not) demonstrates the astonishing increase of private confidence, of general circulation, and of internal commerce; an increase out of all proportion to the growth of the foreign trade. Our naval strength in the time of King William's war was nearly matched by that of France; and though conjoined with Holland, then a maritime power hardly inferiour to our own, even with that force we were not always victorious. Though finally superiour, the allied fleets experienced many unpleafant reverses on their own element. In two years three thousand vessels were taken from the English trade. On the continent we lost almost every battle we fought.

In 1697, (it is not quite an hundred years ago.) in that state of things, amidst the general debase, ment of the coin, the fall of the ordinary revenue, the failure of all the extraordinary supplies, the ruin of commerce and the almost total extinction of an infant credit, the chancellor of the exchequer himself whom we have just seen begging from door to door—came forward to move a resolution, full of vigour, in which far from being discouraged by the generally adverse fortune, and the

long continuance of the war, the commons agreed to address the crown in the following manly, spirited, and truly animating style.

"This is the EIGHTH year in which your majefty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the commons in parliament assembled, have affisted your.
majesty with large supplies for carrying on a just
and necessary war, in defence of our religion, and.
preservation of our laws, and vindication of the
rights and liberties of the people of England."

Afterwards they proceed in this manner:—
"To shew to your majesty and all christendom,
"that the commons of England will not be amused.
"or diverted from their firm resolutions of obtainsing by war, a safe and honourable peace, we do,
"in the name of those we represent, renew our
"assurances to support your majesty and your go"vernment against all your enemies at home and
"abroad; and that we will effectually assist you in
"carrying on the war against France."

The amusement and diversion they speak of, was the suggestion of a treaty proposed by the enemy, and announced from the throne. Thus the people of England selt in the eighth, not in the fourth year of the war. No sighing or panting after negotiation; no motions from the opposition to force the ministry into a peace; no messages from ministers to palfy and deaden the resolution of parliament or the spirit of the nation. They did not so much

" felves."

as advise the king to listen to the propositions of the enemy, nor to seek for peace but through the mediation of a vigorous war. This address was moved in an hot, a divided, a factious, and in a great part, disassected house of commons, and it was carried nemine contradicents.

While that first war (which was ill smothered by the treaty of Ryswick) slept in the thin ashes of a feeming peace, a new conflagration was in its immediate causes. A fresh and a far greater war was in preparation. A year had hardly elapfed when arrangements were made for renewing the contest with tenfold fury. The steps which were taken, at that time, to compose, to reconcile, to unite, and to discipline all Europe against the growth of France, certainly furnish to a statesman the finest and most interesting part in the history of that great period. It formed the master-piece of king William's policy, dexterity, and perseverance. Full of the idea of preferving, not only a local civil liberty united with order, to our country, but to embody it in the political liberty, the order, and the independence of nations united under a natural head, the king called upon his parliament to put itself into a posture " to preserve to England the weight and influence it at present had on the councils " and affairs ABROAD. It will be requisite Europe "fhould fee you will not be wanting to your-

Baffled

Baffled as that monarch was, and almost heartbroken at the disappointment he met with in the mode he first proposed for that great end, he held on his course. He was faithful to his object; and in councils, as in arms, over and over again repulsed, over and over again he returned to the charge. All the mortifications he had fuffered from the last parliament, and the greater he had to apprehend from that newly chosen, were not capable of relaxing the vigour of his mind. was in Holland when he combined the vast plan of his foreign negotiations. When he came to open his design to his ministers in England, even the sober firmness of Somers, the undaunted resolution of Shrewsbury, and the adventurous spirit of Montagu and Orford, were staggered. They were not yet mounted to the elevation of the king. The cabinet, then the regency, met on the subject at Tunbridge Wells the 28th of August, 1698; and there, Lord Somers holding the pen, after expreffing doubts on the state of the continent, which they ultimately refer to the king, as best informed, they give him a most discouraging portrait of the spirit of this nation. "So far as relates to Eng-" land," fay these ministers, " it would be want of duty not to give your majesty this clear account, that there is a deadness and want of spirit in the na-" tion univerfally, so as not to be at all disposed to entering into a new war. That they scem to be tired

"" out with taxes to a degree beyond what was dif" cerned, till it appeared upon occasion of the late
" elections. This is the truth of the fast upon
" which your majesty will determine what resolu" tion ought to be taken."

His majesty did determine; and did take and pursue his resolution. In all the tottering imbecility of a new government, and with parliament totally unmanageable, he perfevered. He persevered to expel the fears of his people, by his fortitude— To steady their fickleness, by his constancy-To expand their narrow prudence, by his enlarged wifdom-To fink their factious temper in his publick fpirit.—In fpite of his people he refolved to make them great and glorious; to make England inclined to shrink into her narrow felf, the arbitres's of Europe, the tutelary angel of the human race. In spite of the ministers, who staggered under the weight that his mind imposed upon theirs, unsupported as they felt themselves by the popular spirit, he infused into them his own soul; he renewed in them their ancient heart; he rallied them in the same cause.

It required some time to accomplish this work. The people were first gained, and through them their distracted representatives. Under the influence of king William, Holland had rejected the allurements of every seduction, and had resisted the terrours of every menace. With Hannibal at her gates,

gates, she had nobly and magnanimously refused all separate treaty, or any thing which might for a moment appear to divide her affection or her interest, or even to distinguish her in identity from England. Having fettled the great point of the confolidation (which he hoped would be eternal) of the countries made for a common interest, and common fentiment, the king, in his meffage to both houses, calls their attention to the affairs of the States General. The house of lords was perfeetly found, and entirely impressed with the wisdom and dignity of the king's proceedings. answer to the message, which you will observe was narrowed to a fingle point (the danger of the States General) after the usual professions of zeal for his fervice, the lords opened themselves at large. They go far beyond the demands of the message. They express themselves as follows: " We take this oc-" casion further to assure your majesty, that we are " fensible of the great and imminent danger to which "the States General are exposed. And we perfectly " agree with them in believing that, their fafety and cours are so inseparably united, that whatsoever is " ruin to the one must be fatal to the other.

"We humbly defire your majesty will be pleased,
not only to make good all the articles of any
former treaties to the States General, but that
you will enter into a strict league, offensive and
defensive, with them, for their common preservation:

tion; and that you will invite into it all princes and fates who are concerned in the present visible dancer, arising from the union of France and Spain.

"And we further desire your majesty, that you will be pleased to enter into such alliances with the emperour, as your majesty shall think sit, pure suant to the ends of the treaty of 1689; towards all which we assure your majesty of our hearty and sincere assistance; not doubting, but whenever your majesty shall be obliged to be engaged for the desence of your allies, and securing the liberty and quiet of Europe, Almighty God will protect your facred person in so righteous a cause. And that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of your subjects will carry your majesty with how nour and success through all the difficulties of a sustained to the sure of the sure

The house of commons was more reserved; the late popular disposition was still in a great degree prevalent in the representative, after it had been made to change in the constituent body. The principle of the grand alliance was not directly recognised in the resolution of the commons, nor the war announced, though they were well aware the alliance was formed for the war. However, compelled by the returning sense of the people, they went so far as to fix the three great immoveable pillars of the safety and greatness of England, as they were then, as they are now, and as they must

ever be to the end of time. They afferted in general terms the necessity of supporting Holland: of keeping united with our allies; and maintaining the liberty of Europe; though they restricted their vote to the fuccours stipulated by actual treaty. But now they were fairly embarked; they were obliged to go with the course of the vessel; and the whole nation, split before into an hundred adverse factions, with a king at its head evidently declining to his tomb, the whole nation, lords, commons, and people, proceeded as one body, informed by one foul. Under the British union, the union of Europe was confolidated; and it long held together with a degree of cohesion, sirmness, and fidelity not known before or fince in any political combination of that extent.

Just as the last hand was given to this immense and complicated machine, the master workman died: but the work was formed on true mechanical principles; and it was as truly wrought. It went by the impulse it had received from the first mover. The manwas dead: but the grand alliance survived, in which king William lived and reigned. That heartless and dispirited people, whom lord Somers had represented, about two years before, as dead in energy and operation, continued that war to which it was supposed they were unequal in mind, and in means, for near thirteen years.

For what have I entered into all this detail? To Vol. VIII.

M what

what purpose have I recalled your view to the end of the last century? It has been done to shew that the British nation was then a great peopleto point out how and by what means they came to be exalted above the vulgar level, and to take that lead which they assumed among mankind. To qualify us for that pre-eminence, we had then an high mind, and a constancy unconquerable; we were then inspired with no flashy passions; but such as were durable as well as warm; fuch as corre-Sponded to the great interests we had at stake. This force of character was inspired, as all such spirit must ever be, from above. Government gave the impulse. As well may we fancy, that, of itself the sea will swell, and that without winds the billows will infult the adverse shore, as that the gross mass of the people will be moved, and elevated, and continue by a steady and permanent direction to bear upon one point, without the influence of fuperiour authority, or fuperiour mind-

This impulse ought, in my opinion, to have been given in this war; and it ought to have been continued to it at every instant. It is made, if ever war was made, to touch all the great springs of action in the human breast. It ought not to have been a war of apology. The minister had, in this conslict, wherewithal to glory in success; to be consoled in adversity; to hold high his principle in all fortunes. If it were not given him to support the falling edi-

fice,

fice, he ought to bury himself under the ruins of the civilized world. All the art of Greece, and all the pride and power of eastern monarchs, never heaped upon their ashes so grand a monument.

There were days when his great mind was up to. the crifis of the world he is called to act in.* His manly eloquence was equal to the elevated wifdom of fuch fentiments. But the little have triumphed overthegreat; an unnatural (as it should seem) not an unufual victory. I am fure you cannot forget with how much uneafiness we heard in conversation. the language of more than one gentleman at the opening of this contest, "that he was willing to " try the war for a year or two, and if it did not " fucceed, then to vote for peace." As if war was a matter of experiment! As if you could take it up or lay it down as an idle frolick! As if the dire goddess that presides over it, with her murderous fpear in her hand, and her gorgon at her breaft, was a coquette to be flirted with! We ought with reverence to approach that tremendous divinity, that loves courage, but commands counfel. War never leaves, where it found a nation. It is never to be entered into without a mature deliberation; not a deliberation lengthened out into a perplexing indecision, but a deliberation leading to a fure and fixed judgment. When fo taken up, it is not to be abandoned without reason as valid,

See the declaration.

as fully, and as extensively considered. Pease may be made as unadvisedly as war. Nothing is so rash as fear; and the counsels of pusillanimity very rarely put off, whilst they are always sure to aggravate, the evils from which they would sly.

In that great war carried on against Louis the XIVth, for near eighteen years, government spared no pains to fatisfy the nation, that though they were to be animated by a defire of glory, glory was not their ultimate object: but that every thing dear to them, in religion, in law, in liberty, every thing which as freemen, as Englishmen, and as citizens of the great commonwealth of Christendom, they had at heart, was then at stake. This was to know the true art of gaining the affections and confidence of an high-minded people; this was to understand human nature. A danger to avert a danger - a present inconvenience and suffering to prevent a foreseen future, and a worse calamity -these are the motives that belong to an animal, who, in his constitution, is at once adventurous and provident; circumfpect and daring; whom his Creator has made, as the poet fays, " of large dif-" course, looking before and after." But never can a vehement and sustained spirit of fortitude be kindled in a people by a war of calculation. It has nothing that can keep the mind erect under the gusts of adversity. Even where men are willing, as fometimes they are, to barter their blood for lucre, to hazard their fafety for the gratification of their avarice, the passion, which animates them to that fort of conflict, like all the shortfighted passions, must see its objects distinct and near at hand. The passions of the lower order are hungry and impatient. Speculative plunder; contingent spoil; future, long adjourned, uncertain booty; pillage which must enrich a late posterity, and which possibly may not reach to posterity at all; these, for any length of time, will never support a mercenary war. The people are in the right. The calculation of profit in all fuch wars is false. On balancing the account of such wars, ten thousand hogsheads of sugar are purchased at ten thousand times their price. The blood of man should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man. It is well fled for our family, for our friends, for our God, for our country, for our kind. The rest is vanity; the rest is crime.

In the war of the grand alliance, most of these considerations voluntarily and naturally had their part. Some were pressed into the service. The political interest easily went in the track of the natural sentiment. In the reverse course the carriage does not follow freely. I am sure the natural seeling, as I have just said, is a far more predominant ingredient in this war, than in that of any other that ever was waged by this kingdom.

If the war made to prevent the union of two M 3 crowns

crowns upon one head was a just war, this, which is made to prevent the tearing all crowns from all heads which ought to wear them, and with the crowns to smite off the facred heads themselves, this is a just war.

If a war to prevent Louis the XIVth from imposing his religion was just, a war to prevent the murderers of Louis the XVIth from imposing their irreligion upon us is just; a war to prevent the operation of a system, which makes life without dignity, and death without hope, is a just war.

If to preserve political independence and civil freedom to nations, was a just ground of war; a war to preserve national independence, property, liberty, life, and honour, from certain, universal havock, is a war just, necessary, manly, pious; and we are bound to persevere in it by every principle, divine and human, as long as the system which menaces them all, and all equally, has an existence in the world,

You, who have looked at this matter with as fair and impartial an eye as can be united with a feeling heart, you will not think it an hardy affertion, when I affirm, that it were far better to be conquered by any other nation, than to have this faction for a neighbour. Before I felt myself authorized to say this, I considered the state of all the countries in Europe for these last three hundred years, which have been obliged to submit to a foreign

foreign law. In most of those I found the condition of the annexed countries even better, certainly not worse, than the lot of those which were the patrimony of the conqueror. They wanted fome bleffings—but they were free from many very great They were rich and tranquil. Such was Artois, Flanders, Lorrain, Alfatia, under the old government of France. Such was Silesia under the king of Prussia. They who are to live in the vicinity of this new fabrick, are to prepare to live in perpetual conspiracies and seditions; and to end at last, in being conquered, if not to her dominion, to her refemblance. But when we talk of conquest by other nations, it is only to put a case. This is the only power in Europe by which it is possible we should be conquered. To live under the continual dread of such immeasurable evils is itself a grievous calamity. To live without the dread of them is to turn the danger into the disaster. The influence of fuch a France is equal to a war; its example, more wasting than an hostile irruption. The hostility with any other power is separable and accidental; this power, by the very condition of its existence, by its very effential constitution, is in a state of hostility with us, and with all civilised people *,

A government of the nature of that fet up at our very door has never been hitherto feen, or even imagined, in Europe. What our relation to it will

be

^{*} See declaration, Whitehall, October 29, 1793. M A

be cannot be judged by other relations. serious thing to have a connection with a people, who live only under positive, arbitrary, and changeable institutions; and those not perfected nor supplied, nor explained, by any common acknowledged rule of moral science. I remember that in one of my last conversations with the late lord Camden, we were struck much in the same manner with the abolition in France of the law, as a science of methodifed and artificial equity. France, fince her revolution, is under the fway of a fect, whose leaders have deliberately, at one stroke, demolished the whole body of that jurisprudence which France had pretty nearly in common with other civilised coun-In that jurisprudence were contained the clements and principles of the law of nations, the great ligament of mankind. With the law they have of course destroyed all seminaries in which jurisprudence was taught, as well as all the corporations established for its conservation. I have not heard of any country, whether in Europe or Asia, or even in Africa on this fide of mount Atlas, which is wholly without fome fuch colleges and fuch corporations, except France. No man, in a publick or private concern, can divine by what rule or principle her judgments are to be directed; nor is there to be found a professor in any university, or a practitioner in any court, who will hazard an opinion of what is or is not law in France, in any case what-

ever.

ever. They have not only annulled all their old treaties; but they have renounced the law of nations from whence treaties have their force. With a fixed defign they have outlawed themselves, and to their power outlawed all other nations.

Instead of the religion and the law by which they were in a great politick communion with the christian world, they have constructed their republick on three bases, all fundamentally opposite to those on which the communities of Europe are built. Its foundation is laid in regicide; in jacobinism; and in atheism; and it has joined to those principles, a body of systematick manners which secures their operation.

If I am asked, how I would be understood in the use of these terms, regicide, jacobinism, atheism, and a system of corresponding manners, and their establishment, I will tell you.

I call a commonwealth regicide, which lays it down as a fixed law of nature, and a fundamental right of man, that all government, not being a democracy, is an usurpation. That all kings,

* Nothing could be more solemn than their promulgation of this principle as a preamble to the destructive code of their samous articles for the decomposition of society into whatever country they should enter. "La convention nationale, après avoir entendu le rapport de ses comités de sinances, de la guerre & diplomatiques réunis, sidelle au principe de souveraintée de peuples qui ne lui permet pas de reconnostre aucune institution qui y porte atteinte," &c. &c. Décret sur le rapport de Cambon. Dec. 18, 1792, and see the subsequent proclamation.

as fuch, are usurpers; and for being kings, may and ought to be put to death, with their-wives, families, and adherents. The commonwealth which acts uniformly upon those principles; and which after abolishing every festival of religion, chooses the most flagrant act of a murderous regicide treason for a feast of eternal commemoration, and which forces all her people to observe it—This I call regicide by establishment.

Jacobinism is the revolt of the enterprising talents of a country against its property. When private men form themselves into associations for the purpose of destroying the pre-existing laws and institutions of their country; when they secure to themselves an army by dividing amongst the people of no property, the estates of the ancient and lawful proprietors; when a state recognises those acts; when it does not make confifcations for crimes, but makes crimes for confifcations; when it has its principal strength, and all its resources in fuch a violation of property; when it stands chiefly upon fuch a violation; maffacring by judgments, or otherwife, those who make any struggle for their old legal government, and their legal, hereditary, or acquired possessions—I call this jacobinism by establishment.

I call it atheism by establishment, when any state, as such, shall not acknowledge the existence of God as a moral governour of the world; when it shall offer to him no religious or moral worship;—when

it shall abolish the Christian religion by a regular decree;—when it shall persecute with a cold, una relenting, fleady cruelty, by every mode of confifcation, imprisonment, exile, and death, all its minifters;—when it shall generally shut up, or pull down, churches; when the few buildings which remain of this kind shall be opened only for the purpole of making a profane apotheosis of monsters, whose vices and crimes have no parallel amongst men, and whom all other men consider as objects of general detestation, and the severest animadversion of law. When, in the place of that religion of focial benevolence, and of individual felf-denial, in mockery of all religion, they inftitute impious, blasphemous, indecent theatrick rites, in honour of their vitiated, perverted reason, and erect altars to the personification of their own corrupted and bloody republick; -when schools and seminaries are founded at publick expence to poifon mankind, from generation to generation, with the horrible maxims of this impiety; -when wearied out with incessant martyrdom, and the cries of a people hungering and thirsting for religion, they permit it, only as a tolerated evil-I call this atheism by establishment.

When to these establishments of regicide, of jacobinism, and of atheism, you add the correspondent system of manners, no doubt can be left on the mind of a thinking man, concerning their determined

mined hostility to the human race. Manners are of more importance than laws. Upon them, in a great measure, the laws depend. The law touches us but here and there, and now and then. ners are what vex or footh, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us, by a constant, steady, uniform, insensible operation, like that of the air we breathe in. They give their whole form and colour to our lives. According to their quality, they aid morals, they supply them, or they totally destroy them. Of this the new French legis. lators were aware; therefore, with the same method, and under the same authority, they settled a lystem of manners, the most licentious, prostitute. and abandoned that ever has been known, and at the same time the most coarse, rude, savage, and ferocious. Nothing in the revolution, no, not to a phrase or a gesture, not to the fashion of a hat or a shoe, was left to accident. All has been the refult of design; all has been matter of institution. No mechanical means could be devised in favour of this incredible fystem of wickedness and vice. that has not been employed. The noblest paffions, the love of glory, the love of country, have been debauched into means of its preservation and its propagation. All forts of shews and exhibitions. calculated to inflame and vitiate the imagination. and pervert the moral fense, have been contrived. They have fometimes brought forth five or fix hundred hundred drunken women, calling at the bar of the affembly for the blood of their own children, as being royalists or constitutionalists. Sometimes they have got a body of wretches, calling themselves fathers, to demand the murder of their sons; boasting that Rome had but one Brutus, but that they could shew sive hundred. There were instances, in which they inverted, and retaliated the impiety, and produced fons, who called for the execution of their parents. The foundation of their republick is laid in moral paradoxes. Their. patriotism is always prodigy. All those instances to be found in history, whether real or fabulous, of a doubtful publick spirit, at which morality is perplexed, reason is staggered, and from which affrighted nature recoils, are their chosen, and almost fole examples for the instruction of their youth.

The whole drift of their institution is contrary to that of the wise legislators of all countries, who aimed at improving instincts into morals, and at grafting the virtues on the stock of the natural affections. They, on the contrary, have omitted no pains to eradicate every benevolent and noble propensity in the mind of men. In their culture it is a rule always to graft virtues on vices. They think every thing unworthy of the name of publick virtue, unless it indicates violence on the private. All their new institutions, (and with them every thing is new) strike at the root of our social nature.

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nature. Other legislators, knowing that marriage. is the origin of all relations, and confequently the first element of all duties, have endeavoured, by every art, to make it facred. The Christian religion, by confining it to the pairs, and by rendering that relation indifioluble, has, by these two things, done more towards the peace, happiness, fettlement, and civilifation of the world, than by any other part in this whole scheme of Divine Wis-The direct contrary course has been taken in the fynagogue of antichrist, I mean in that forge and manufactory of all evil, the fect which predominated in the constituent assembly of 1789. Those monsters employed the same, or greater induftry, to defecrate and degrade that state, which other legislators have used to render it holy and honourable. By a strange, uncalled-for declaration, they pronounced, that marriage was no better than a common, civil contract. It was one of their ordinary tricks, to put their fentiments into the mouths of certain personated characters, which they theatrically exhibited at the bar of whatought to be a ferious affembly. One of these was brought out in the figure of a prostitute, whom they called by the affected name of "a mother without being a wife." This creature they made to call for a repeal of the incapacities, which incivilifed flates are put upon baftards. The proftitutes of the asiembly gave to this their puppet the fanction

function of their greater impudence. In confequence of the principles laid down, and the manners authorized, bastards were not long after put on the footing of the iffue of lawful unions. Proceeding in the spirit of the first authors of their constitution, succeeding assemblies went the full length of the principle, and gave a licence to divorce at the mere pleasure of either party, and at a month's notice. With them the matrimonial connection is brought into fo degraded a state of concubinage, that, I believe, none of the wretches in London, who keep warehouses of infamy, would give out one of their victims to private cuftody on fo fhort and infolent a tenure. There was indeed a kind of profligate equity in giving to women the fame licentious power. The reason they affigned was as infamous as the act; declaring that women had been too long under the tyranny of parents and of hufbands. It is not neceflary to observe upon the horrible consequences of taking one half of the species wholly out of the guardianship and protection of the other.

The practice of divorce, though in some countries permitted, has been discouraged in all. In the East, polygamy and divorce are in discredit; and the manners correct the laws. In Rome, whilst Rome was in its integrity, the sew causes allowed for divorce amounted in effect to a prohibition. They were only three. The arbitrary was totally excluded;

excluded; and accordingly fome hundreds of years passed, without a single example of that kind. When manners were corrupted, the laws were relaxed; as the latter always follow the former, when they are not able to regulate them, or to vanquish them. Of this circumstance the legislators of vice and crime were pleased to take notice, as an inducement to adopt their regulation; holding out an hope, that the permission would as rarely be made use of. They knew the contrary to be true; and they had taken good care, that the laws should be well seconded by the manners. law of divorce, like all their laws, had not for its object the relief of domestick uneasiness, but the total corruption of all morals, the total disconnexion of focial life.

It is a matter of curiofity to observe the operation of this encouragement to disorder. I have before me the Paris paper, correspondent to the usual register of births, marriages, and deaths. Divorce, happily, is no regular head of registry amongst civilised nations. With the jacobins it is remarkable, that divorce is not only a regular head, but it has the post of honour. It occupies the sirst place in the list. In the three first months of the year 1793, the number of divorces in that city amounted to 562. The marriages were 1785; so that the proportion of divorces to marriages was not much less than one to three; a thing unexampled,

pled, I believe, among mankind. I caused an inquiry to be made at Doctor's Commons, concerning the number of divorces; and found, that all the divorces, (which, except by special act of parliament, are separations, and not proper divorces) did not amount in all those courts, and in an hundred years, to much more than one fifth of those that passed, in the single city of Paris, in three months. I followed up the inquiry relative to that city through feveral of the fubfequent months until I was tired, and found the proportions still the fame. Since then I have heard that they have declared for a revital of these laws: but I know of nothing done. It appears as if the contract that renovates the world was under no law at all. From this we may take our estimate of the havock that has been made through all the relations of life. With the jacobins of France, vague intercourse is without reproach; marriage is reduced to the vilest concubinage; children are encouraged to cut the throats of their parents; mothers are taught that tenderness is no part of their character; and to demonstrate their attachment to their party, that they ought to make no scruple to rake with their bloody hands in the bowels of those who came from their own.

To all this let us join the practice of cannibalism, with which, in the proper terms, and with the Vol. VIII.

the greatest truth, their several factions accuse each other. By cannibalism, I mean their devouring, as a nutriment of their serocity, some part of the bodies of those they have murdered; their drinking the blood of their victims, and forcing the victims themselves to drink the blood of their kindred slaughtered before their faces. By cannibalism, I mean also to signify all their nameless, unmanly, and abominable insults on the bodies of those they slaughter.

As to those whom they suffer to die a natural death, they do not permit them to enjoy the last confolations of mankind, or those rights of sepulture, which indicate hope, and which mere nature has taught to mankind in all countries, to foothe the afflictions, and to cover the infirmity of mortal condition. They difgrace men in the entry into life: they vitiate and enflave them through the whole course of it; and they deprive them of all comfort at the conclusion of their dishonoured and depraved existence. Endeavouring to perfuade the people that they are no better than beafts, the whole body of their institution tends to make them beafts of prey, furious and favage. For this purpose the active part of them is disciplined into a ferocity which has no parallel. To this ferocity there is joined not one of the rude, unfashioned virtues, which accompany the vices, where the

the whole are left to grow up together in the rankness of uncultivated nature. But nothing is left to nature in their systems.

The same discipline which hardens their hearts relaxes their morals. Whilst courts of justice were thrust out by revolutionary tribunals, and filent churches were only the funeral monuments of departed religion, there were no fewer than nineteen or twenty theatres, great and fmall, most of them kept open at the publick expence, and all of them crowded every night. Among the gaunt, hagard forms of famine and nakedness, amidst the yells of murder, the tears of affliction, and the cries of despair, the fong, the dance, the mimick scene, the buffoon laughter, went on as regularly as in the gay hour of festive peace. I have it from good authority, that under the scaffold of judicial murder, and the gaping planks that poured down blood on the spectators, the space was hired out for a shew of dancing dogs. I think, without concert, we have made the very fame remark on reading some of their pieces, which being written for other purposes, let us into a view of their social life. It struck us that the habits of Paris had no resemblance to the finished virtues, or to the polished vice, and elegant, though not blameless luxury, of the capital of a great empire. Their fociety was more like that of a den of outlaws upon a doubtful frontier; of a lewd tavern for the revels N_2 and

and debauches of banditti, affaffins, bravos, faugglers, and their more desperate paramours, mixed with bombastick players, the refuse and rejected offal of strolling theatres, puffing out ill-forted verses about virtue, mixed with the licentious and blasphemous songs, proper to the brutal and hardened course of life belonging to that fort of wretches. This fystem of manners in itself is at war with all orderly and moral fociety, and is in its neighbourhood unfafe. If great bodies of that kind were any where established in a bordering territory, we should have a right to demand of their governments the suppression of such a nuisance. What are we to do if the government and the whole community is of the same description? Yet that government has thought proper to invite ours to lay by its unjust hatred, and to listen to the voice of humanity as taught by their example.

The operation of dangerous and delusive first principles obliges us to have recourse to the true ones. In the intercourse between nations, we are apt to refy too much on the instrumental part. We lay too much weight upon the formality of treaties and compacts. We do not act much more wisely when we trust to the interests of men as guarantees of their engagements. The interests frequently tear to pieces the engagements; and the passions trample upon both. Entirely to trust to either, is to disregard our own safety, or not to know

know mankind. Men are not tied to one another by papers and feals. They are led to affociate by refemblances, by conformities, by fympathies. It is with nations as with individuals. Nothing is fo strong a tie of amity between nation and nation as correspondence in laws, customs, manners, and habits of life. They have more than the force of treaties in themselves. They are obligations written in the heart. They approximate men to men, without their knowledge, and sometimes against their intentions. The secret, unseen, but irrestragable bond of habitual intercourse, holds them together, even when their perverse and litigious nature sets them to equivocate, scussle, and sight about the terms of their written obligations.

As to war, if it be the means of wrong and violence, it is the fole means of justice amongst nations. Nothing can banish it from the world. They who fay otherwife, intending to impose upon us, do not impose upon themselves. But it is one of the greatest objects of human wisdom to mitigate those evils which we are unable to remove. The conformity and analogy of which I speak, incapable, like every thing elfe, of preferving perfect trust and tranquillity among men, has a strong tendency to facilitate accommodation, and to produce a generous oblivion of the rancour of their quarrels. With this similitude, peace is more of peace, and war is less of war. I will go further. There have N 3 been

been periods of time in which communities, apparently in peace with each other, have been more perfectly separated than, in later times, many nations in Europe have been in the course of long and bloody wars. The cause must be sought in the fimilitude throughout Europe of religion, laws, and manners. At bottom, these are all the same. The writers on publick law have often called this aggregate of nations a commonwealth. They had It is virtually one great state having the same basis of general law; with some diversity of provincial customs and local establishments. nations of Europe have had the very fame christian religion, agreeing in the fundamental parts, varying a little in the ceremonies and in the subordinate doctrines. The whole of the polity and œconomy of every country in Europe has been derived from the same sources. It was drawn from the old Germanick or Gothick custumary; from the feudal institutions which must be considered as an emanation from that custumary; and the whole has been improved and digested into system and discipline by the Roman law. From hence arose the feveral orders, with or without a monarch (which are called states) in every European country; the strong traces of which, where monarchy predominated, were never wholly extinguished or merged in despotism. In the few places where monarchy was cast off, the spirit of European monarchy was ftill

still left. Those countries still continued countries of flates: that is, of classes, orders, and distinctions, fuch as had before fublified, or nearly fo. Indeed the force and form of the institution called states, continued in greater perfection in those republican communities than under monarchies. From all those sources arose a system of manners and of education which was nearly fimilar in all this quarter of the globe; and which softened, blended, and harmonized the colours of the whole. There was little difference in the form of the universities for the education of their youth, whether with regard to faculties, to sciences, or to the more liberal and elegant kinds of erudition. From this refemblance in the modes of intercourse, and in the whole form and fashion of life, no citizen of Europe could be altogether an exile in any part of it. There was nothing more than a pleasing variety to recreate and instruct the mind; to enrich the imagination; and to meliorate the heart. When a man travelled or refided for health, pleafure, business or necessity, from his own country, he never felt himfelf quite abroad.

The whole body of this new scheme of manners in support of the new scheme of politicks, I consider as a strong and decisive proof of determined ambition and systematick hostility. I defy the most refining ingenuity to invent any other cause for the total departure of the jacobin republick N 4 from

from every one of the ideas and utages, religious, legal, moral, or focial, of this civilized world, and for her tearing herself from its communion with fuch studied violence, but from a formed resolution of keeping no terms with that world. It has not been, as has been falfely and infidiously reprefented, that these miscreants had only broke with their old government. They made a schism with the whole universe; and that schism extended to almost every thing great and small. For one, I wish, since it is gone thus far, that the breach had been so complete, as to make all intercourse ima practicable; but partly by accident, partly by defign, partly from the relistance of the matter, enough is left to preserve intercourse, whilst amity is destroyed or corrupted in its principle.

This violent breach of the community of Europe, we must conclude to have been made (even if they had not expressly declared it over and over again) either to force mankind into an adoption of their system, or to live in perpetual enmity with a community the most potent we have ever known. Can any person imagine, that in offering to mankind this desperate alternative, there is no indication of a hostile mind, because men in possession of the ruling authority are supposed to have a right to act without coercion in their own territories? As to the right of men to act any where according to their pleasure, without any moral tie, no such right

right exists. Men are never in a state of total independence of each other. It is not the condition of our nature: nor is it conceivable how any man can pursue a considerable course of action without its having some effect upon others; or, of course, without producing some degree of responsibility for his conduct. The situations in which men relatively stand produce the rules and principles of that responsibility, and afford directions to prudence in exacting it.

Distance of place does not extinguish the duties or the rights of men; but it often renders their exercife impracticable. The fame circumstance of distance renders the noxious effects of an evil systtem in any community less pernicious. But there are fituations where this difficulty does not occur: and in which, therefore, these duties are obligatory, and these rights are to be afferted. It has ever been the method of publick jurists to draw a great part of the analogies on which they form the law of nations, from the principles of law which prevail in civil community. Civil laws are not all of them merely positive. Those which are rather conclufions of legal reason, than matters of statutable provision, belong to universal equity, and are univerfally applicable. Almost the whole prætorian law is fuch. There is a Law of Neighbourhood which does not leave a man perfect master on his own ground. When a neighbour fees a new erection,

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in the nature of a nuisance, set up at his door, he has a right to represent it to the judge; who, on his part, has a right to order the work to be staid; or if established, to be removed. On this head the parent law is express and clear; and has made many wife provisions, which, without destroying, regulate and restrain the right of owner/bip, by the right of vicinage. No innovation is permitted that may redound, even secondarily, to the prejudice of a neighbour. The whole doctrine of that important head of prætorian law, "De novi operis nuncia-" tione," is founded on the principle, that no new use should be made of a man's private liberty of operating upon his private property, from whence a detriment may be justly apprehended by his neighbour. This law of denunciation is prospective. It is to anticipate what is called damnum infectum, or damnum nondum factum, that is a damage justly apprehended but not actually done. Even before it is clearly known, whether the innovation be damageable or not, the judge is competent to iffue a prohibition to innovate, until the point can be determined. This prompt interference is grounded on principles favourable to both parties. ventive of mischief difficult to be repaired, and of ill blood difficult to be foftened. The rule of law, therefore, which comes before the evil, is amongst the very best parts of equity, and justifies the promptness of the remedy; because, as it is well observed.

observed, Res damni infecti celeritatem desiderat & periculosa est dilatio. This right of denunciation does not hold, when things continue, however inconveniently to the neighbourhood, according to the antient mode. For there is a sort of presumption against novelty, drawn out of a deep consideration of human nature and human affairs; and the maxim of jurisprudence is well laid down, Vetustas pro lege semper habetur.

Such is the law of civil vicinity. Now where there is no constituted judge, as between independent states there is not, the vicinage itself is the natural judge. It is, preventively, the affertor of its own rights, or remedially, their avenger. Neighbours are presumed to take cognisance of each others acts. "Vicini, vicinorum facta presumentur" scire." This principle, which, like the rest, is as true of nations, as of individual men, has bestowed on the grand vicinage of Europe, a duty to know, and a right to prevent, any capital innovation which may amount to the erection of a dangerous nuisance." Of the importance of that innovation, and the mischief of that nuisance, they are, to be

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[&]quot; "This state of things cannot exist in France without involving all the surrounding powers in one common danger,
without giving them the right, without imposing it on them
days as a duty, to stop the progress of an evil which attacks the
fundamental principles by which mankind is united in civil
fociety." Declaration, 29th Oct. 1793.

fure, bound to judge not litigiously: but it is in their competence to judge. They have uniformly acted on this right. What in civil fociety is a ground of action, in politick fociety is a ground of war. But the exercise of that competent jurisdiction is a matter of moral prudence. As fuits in civil fociety, fo war in the political must ever be a matter of great deliberation. It is not this or that particular proceeding, picked out here and there, as a subject of quarrel, that will do. There must be an aggregate of mischief. There must be marks of deliberation; there must be traces of design; there must be indications of malice; there must be tokens of ambition. There must be force in the body where they exist; there must be energy in the mind. When all these circumstances combine, or the important parts of them, the duty of the vicinity calls for the exercise of its competence: and the rules of prudence do not restrain, but demand it.

In describing the nuisance erected by so pestilential a manufactory, by the construction of so infamous a brothel, by digging a night-cellar for such thieves, murderers, and house-breakers, as never infested the world, I am so far from aggravating, that I have fallen infinitely short of the evil. No man who has attended to the particulars of what has been done in France, and combined them with the principles there afferted, can possibly doubt it.

When I compare with this great cause of nations, the trisling points of honour, the still more contemptible points of interest, the light ceremonies, the undefinable punctilios, the disputes about precedency, the lowering or the hoisting of a sail, the dealing in a hundred or two of wild cat-skins on the other side of the globe, which have often kindled up the slames of war between nations, I stand astonished at those persons, who do not feel a refertment, not more natural than politick, at the atrocious insults that this monstrous compound offers to the dignity of every nation, and who are not alarmed with what it threatens to their safety.

I have therefore been decidedly of opinion, with our declaration at Whitehall, in the beginning of this war, that the vicinage of Europe had not only a right, but an indispensable duty, and an exigent interest, to denunciate this new work before it had produced the danger we have so sorely felt, and which we shall long feel. The example of what is done by France is too important not to have a vast and extensive influence; and that example backed with its power, must bear with great force on those who are near it; especially on those who shall recognise the pretended republick on the principle upon which it now stands. It is not an old structure which you have found as it is, and are not to dispute of the original end and design with which it had been so fashioned. It is a recent wrong, and

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can plead no prescription. It violates the rights upon which not only the community of France, but those on which all communities are founded. The principles on which they proceed are general principles, and are as true in England as in any other country. They who (though with the purest intentions) recognise the authority of these regicides and robbers upon principle, justify their acts, and establish them as precedents. It is a question not between France and England. It is a queftion between property and force. The property claims; and its claim has been allowed. The property of the nation is the nation. They who maffacre, plunder, and expel the body of the proprietary, are murderers and robbers. The state, in its essence, must be moral and just: and it may be so, though a tyrant or usurper should be accidentally at the head of it. This is a thing to be lamented: but this notwithstanding, the body of the commonwealth may remain in all its integrity and be perfectly found in its composition. The present case is different. It is not a revolution in government. It is not the victory of party over party. It is a deftruction and decomposition of the whole fociety; which never can be made of right by any faction, however powerful, nor without terrible confequences to all about it, both in the act and in the example. This pretended republick is founded in crimes, and exists by wrong and robbery; and wrong

wrong and robbery, far from a title to any thing, is war with mankind. To be at peace with robbery is to be an accomplice with it.

Mere locality does not constitute a body poli-Had Cade and his gang got possession of London, they would not have been the lord mayor. aldermen, and common council. The body politick of France existed in the majesty of its throne; in the dignity of its nobility; in the honour of its gentry; in the fanctity of its clergy; in the reverence of its magistracy; in the weight and confideration due to its landed property in the several bailliages; in the respect due to its moveable sub-Rance represented by the corporations of the kingdom. All these particular moleculæ united, form the great mass of what is truly the body politick in all countries. They are fo many deposits and receptacles of justice; because they can only exist by justice. Nation is a moral essence, not a geographical arrangement, or a denomination of the nomenclator. France, though out of her territorial possession, exists; because the sole possible claimant, I mean the proprietary, and the government to which the proprietary adheres, exists and claims. God forbid, that if you were expelled from your house by ruffians and assaffins, that I should call the material walls, doors and windows of _____, the ancient and honourable family of Am I to transfer to the intruders, who, not content to turn you out naked to the world, would

would rob you of your very name, all the esteem and respect I owe to you? The regicides in France are not France. France is out of her bounds, but the kingdom is the same.

To illustrate my opinions on this subject, let us funpose a case, which, after what has happened, we cannot think absolutely impossible, though the augury is to be abominated, and the event deprecated with our most ardent prayers. Let us suppose then, that our gracious fovereign was facrilegiously murdered; his exemplary queen, at the head of the matronage of this land, murdered in the fame manner: that those princesses whose beauty and modest elegance are the ornaments of the country, and who are the leaders and patterns of the ingenuous youth of their fex; were put to a cruel and ignominious death, with hundreds of others, mothers and daughters, ladies of the first distinction;—that the prince of Wales and the duke of York, princes the hope and pride of the nation, with all their brethren, were forced to fly from the knives of affailins—that the whole body of our excellent clergy were either maffacred or robbed of all, and transported—the Chriftian religion, in all its denominations; forbidden and perfecuted; the law totally, fundamentally, and in all its parts destroyed—the judges put to death by revolutionary tribunals—the peers and commons robbed to the last acre of their estates; massacred if they faid, or obliged to feek life in flight, inexile

exile and in beggary—that the whole landed property should share the very same fate-that every military and naval officer of honour and rank, almost to a man, should be placed in the same description of confiscation and exile—that the principal merchants and bankers should be drawn out. as from an hen-coop, for flaughter—that the citizens of our greatest and most flourishing cities, when the hand and the machinery of the hangman were not found fufficient. should have been collected in the publick squares, and massacred by thousands with cannon; -if three hundred thoufand others should have been doomed to a situation worse than death in noisome and pestilential prifons;—in such a case, is it in the faction of robbers I am to look for my country? Would this be the England that you and I, and even strangers, admired, honoured, loved, and cherished? Would not the exiles of England alone be my government and my fellow citizens? Would not their places of refuge be my temporary country? Would not all my duties and all my affections be there and there only? Should I consider myself as a traitor to my country, and deserving of death, if I knocked at the door and heart of every potentate in Christendom to faccour my friends, and to avenge them on their enemies? Could I, in any way, shew myself more a patriot? What should I think of those potentates who infulted their fuffering brethren; who treated Vol. VIII.

treated them as vagrants, or at least as mendicants; and could find no allies, no friends, but in regicide murderers and robbers? What ought I to think and feel, if being geographers instead of kings, they recognised the desolated cities, the wasted fields, and the rivers polluted with blood. of this geometrical measurement, as the honourable member of Europe, called England? In that condition what should we think of Sweden, Denmark, er Holland, or whatever power afforded us a churlish and treacherous hospitality, if they should invite us to join the standard of our king, our laws, and our religion, if they should give us a direct promise of protection-if after all this, taking advantage of our deplorable fituation, which left us no choice, they were to treat us as the lowest and vilest of all mercenaries? If they were to send us far from the aid of our king, and our fuffering country, to squander us away in the most pestilential climates for a venal enlargement of their own territories, for the purpose of trucking them, when obtained, with those very robbers and murderers they had called upon us to oppose with our blood? What would be our fentiments, if in that miferable fervice we were not to be confidered either as English, or as Swedes, Dutch, Danes, but as outcasts of the human race? Whilst we were fighting those battles of their interest, and as their soldiers, how should we feel if we were to be excluded from

all their cartels? How must we feel, if the pride and flower of the English nobility and gentry, who might escape the pestilential clime, and the devouring sword, should, if taken prisoners, be delivered over as rebel subjects, to be condemned as rebels, as traitors, as the vilest of all criminals, by tribunals formed of Maroon negro flaves, covered over with the blood of their masters, who were made free and organized into judges, for their robberies and murders? What should we feel under this inhuman, infulting, and barbarous protection of Muscovites, Swedes or Hollanders? Should we not obtest Heaven, and whatever justice there is yet on earth? Oppression makes wise men mad; but the distemper is still the madness of the wife, which is better than the fobriety of fools. Their cry is the voice of facred mifery, exalted, not into wild raving, but into the fanctified phrenzy of prophecy and inspiration—in that bitterness of soul, in that indignation of fuffering virtue, in that exaltation of despair, would not persecuted English loyalty cry out, with an awful warning voice, and denounce the destruction that waits on monarchs, who confider fidelity to them as the most degrading of all vices; who fuffer it to be punished as the most abominable of all crimes; and who have no respect but for rebels, traitors, regicides, and furious negro flaves, whose crimes have broke their chains? Would not this warm language of high indignation tion have more of found reason in it, more of reas affection, more of true attachment, than all the lullabies of flatterers, who would hush monarchs to fleep in the arms of death? Let them be well convinced, that if ever this example should prevailin its whole extent, it will have its full operation? Whilst kings stand firm on their base, though under that base there is a sure-wrought mine, there will not be wanting to their levees a fingle person of those who are attached to their fortune, and not to their persons or cause: but hereafter none will support a tottering throne. Some will sly for fearof being crushed under the ruin; some will join in making it. They will feek in the destruction of royalty, fame, and power, and wealth, and the homage of kings, with Reubel, with Carnot, with Revelliere, and with the Merlins and the Talliens, rather than fuffer exile and beggary with the Condés, or the Broglios, the Castries, the D'Avrais, the Serrents, the Cazalés, and the long line of loyal, fuffering patriot nobility, or to be butchered with the oracles and the victims of the laws, the D'Ormesons, the D'Espremenils, and the Malesberbes. This example we shall give, if instead of adhering to our fellows in a cause which is an honour to us all. we abandon the lawful government and lawful corporate body of France, to hunt for a shameful and guinous fraternity, with this odious usurpation that diffraces civilized fociety and the human race.

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And is then example nothing? It is every thing. Example is the school of mankind, and they will learn at no other. This war is a war against that example. It is not a war for Louis the eighteenth, or even for the property, virtue, sidelity of France. It is a war for George the third, for Francis the second, and for all the dignity, property, honour, virtue, and religion of England, of Germany, and of all nations.

I know that all I have faid of the fystematick unfociability of this new-invented species of republick and the impossibility of preserving peace, is answered by afferting that the scheme of manners, morals, and even of maxims and principles of state, is of no weight in a question of peace or war between communities. This doctrine is supported by example. The case of Algiers is cited, with an hint, as if it were the stronger case. I should take no notice of this fort of inducement, if I had found it only where first it was. I do not want respect for those from whom I first heard it-but having no controverfy at present with them, I only think it not amiss to rest on it a little, as I find it adopted with much more of the same kind, by several of those on whom such reasoning had formerly made no apparent impression. If it had no force to prewent us from submitting to this necessary war, it furnishes no better ground for our making an unnecessary and ruinous peace.

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This analogical argument drawn from the case of Algiers would lead us a good way. The fact is, we ourselves with a little cover, others more directly, pay a tribute to the republick of Algiers. Is it meant to reconcile us to the payment of a tribute to the French republick? That this, with other things more ruinous, will be demanded hereafter, I little doubt; but for the present, this will not be avowed—though our minds are to be gradually prepared for it. In truth, the arguments from this case are worth little, even to those who approve the buying an Algerine forbearance of piracy. There are many things which men do not approve, that they must do to avoid a greater evil. To argue from thence, that they are to act in the fame manner in all cases, is turning necessity into a law. Upon what is matter of prudence, the argument concludes the contrary way. Because we have done one humiliating act, we ought, with infinite caution, to admit more acts of the same nature. lest humiliation should become our habitual state. Matters of prudence are under the dominion of circumstances, and not of logical analogies, It is abfurd to take it otherwise.

I, for one, do more than doubt the policy of this kind of convention with Algiers. On those who think as I do, the argument ad hominem can make no fort of impression. I know something of the constitution and composition of this very extraordi-

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nary republick. It has a constitution, I admit, similar to the present tumultuous military tyranny of France, by which an handful of obscure russians domineer over a fertile country, and abrave people: For the composition, too, I admit the Algerine . community refembles that of France; being formed out of the very fcum, fcandal, difgrace, and pest of the Turkish Asia. The grand seignior, to disburthen the country, fuffers the dev to recruit, in his dominions, the corps of janifaries, or afaphs, which form the directory and council of elders of the African republick one and indivisible. But notwithstanding this resemblance, which I allow, I never shall so far injure the janisarian republick of Algiers, as to put it in comparison for every fort of crime, turpitude, and oppression with the jacobin republick of Paris. There is no question with me to which of the two I should choose to be a neighbour or a subject. But situated as I am, I am in no danger of becoming to Algiers either the one or the other. It is not so in my relation to the atheistical fanaticks of France. I am their neighbour; I may become their subject. Have the gentlemen who borrowed this happy parallel, no idea of the different conduct to be held with regard to the very same evil at an immense distance, and when it is at your door? when its power is enormous, as when it is comparatively as feeble as its distance is remote? when there is a barrier of language 0 4

language and usages, which prevents corruption through certain old correspondences and habitudes, from the contagion of the horrible novelties that are introduced into every thing else? I can contemplate, without dread, a royal or a national tyger on the borders of Pegu, I can look at him, with an easy curiosity, as prisoner within bars in the menagerie of the tower. But if, by habeas corpus, or otherwise, he was to come into the lobby of the house of commons whilst your door was open, any of you would be more flout than wife, who would not gladly make your escape out of the back windows. I certainly should dread more from a wild cat in my bed-chamber, than from all the lions that roar in the defarts behind Algiers. But in this parallel it is the cat that is at a distance, and the lions and tygers that are in our anti-chambers and our lobbies. Algiers is not near; Algiers is not powerful; Algiers is not our neighbour; Algiers is not infectious, Algiers, whatever it may be, is an old creation; and we have good data to calculate all the mischief to be apprehended from it. When I find Algiers transferred to Calais, I will tell you what I think of that point. In the mean time, the case quoted from the Algerine reports, will not apply as authority. We shall put it out of court; and so far as that goes, let the counsel for the jacobin peace take nothing by their motion.

When we voted, as you and I did, with many more

more whom you and I respect and love, to resist this enemy, we were providing for dangers that were direct, home, pressing, and not remote, contingent, uncertain, and formed upon loofe analogies. We judged of the danger with which we were menaced by jacobin France, from the whole tenour of her conduct; not from one or two doubtful or detached acts or expressions. I not only concurred in the idea of combining with Europe in this war: but to the best of my power even stimulated minifters to that conjunction of interests and of efforts. I joined them with all my foul, on the principles contained in that manly and masterly state-paper. which I have two or three times referred to, * and may still more frequently hereafter. The diplomatick collection never was more enriched than with this piece. The historick facts justify every stroke of the master. "Thus painters write their names " at Co."

Various persons may concur in the same meafure on various grounds. They may be various, without being contrary to, or exclusive of each other. I thought the insolent, unprovoked aggression of the regicide, upon our ally of Holland, a good ground of war. I think his manifest attempt to overturn the balance of Europe, a good ground of war. As a good ground of war, I consider his

[•] Declaration, Whitehall, Oct. 29, 1798 declaration

declaration of war on his majesty and his kingdom. But though I have taken all these to my aid, I consider them as nothing more than as a sort of evidence to indicate the treasonable mind within. Long before their acts of aggression, and their declaration of war, the saction in France had assumed a form, had adopted a body of principles and maxims, and had regularly and systematically acted on them, by which she virtually had put herself in a posture, which was in itself a declaration of war against mankind.

It is faid by the directory in their feveral manifestoes, that we of the people are tumultuous for peace; and that ministers pretend negotiation to amuse us. This they have learned from the language of many amongst ourselves, whose conversations have been one main cause of whatever extent the opinion for peace with regicide may be. But I who think the ministers unfortunately to be but too serious in their proceedings, sind myself obliged to say a little more on this subject of the popular opinion.

Before our opinions are quoted against ourselves, it is proper that, from our serious deliberation, they may be worth quoting. It is without reason we praise the wisdom of our constitution, in putting under the discretion of the crown, the awful trust of war and peace, if the ministers of the crown wirtually return it again into our hands. The

trust was placed there as a facred deposit, to secure us against popular rashness in plunging into wars, and against the effects of popular dismay, disgust, or lassitude in getting out of them as imprudently as we might first engage in them. To have no other measure in judging of those great objects than our momentary opinions and desires, is to throw us back upon that very democracy which, in this part, our constitution was formed to avoid.

It is no excuse at all for a minister, who at our defire takes a measure contrary to our safety, that it is our own act. He who does not stay the hand of fuicide, is guilty of murder. On our part I fay. that to be instructed, is not to be degraded or enflaved. Information is an advantage to us; and we have a right to demand it. He that is bound to act in the dark cannot be faid to act freely. When it appears evident to our governours that our defires and our interests are at variance, they ought not to gratify the former at the expence of the latter. Statesmen are placed on an eminence, that they may have a larger horizon than we can possibly command. They have a whole before them, which we can contemplate only in the parts, and often without the necessary relations. sters are not only our natural rulers but our natural guides. Reason clearly and manfully delivered, has in itself a mighty force: but reason in the mouth

mouth of legal authority, is, I may fairly fay, irrefiftible.

I admit that reason of state will not, in many circumstances, permit the disclosure of the true ground of a publick proceeding. In that case filence is manly and it is wife. It is fair to call for trust when the principle of reason itself suspends its publick use. I take the distinction to be this: The ground of a particular measure, making a part of a plan, it is rarely proper to divulge; all the broader grounds of policy on which the general plan is to be adopted, ought as rarely to be concealed. They who have not the whole caufe before them, call them politicians, call them people, call them what you will, are no judges. The difficulties of the case, as well as its fair side, ought to be presented. This ought to be done; and it is all that can be done. When we have our true fituation distinctly presented to us, if then we refolve with a blind and headlong violence, to refift the admonitions of our friends, and to cast ourfelves into the hands of our potent and irreconcileable foes, then, and not till then, the ministers stand acquitted before God and man, for whatever may come.

Lamenting as I do, that the matter has not had so full and free a discussion as it requires, I mean to omit none of the points which seem to me necessary

necellary for confideration, previous to an arrangement which is for ever to decide the form and the fate of Europe. In the course, therefore, of what I shall have the honour to address to you, I propose the following questions to your serious thoughts: -1. Whether the present system which stands for a government in France, be fuch as in peace and war affects the neighbouring states in a manner different from the internal government that formerly prevailed in that country?—2. Whether that fystem, supposing its views hostile to other nations, possesses any means of being hurtful to them peculiar to itself?—3. Whether there has been lately such a change in France, as to alter the nature of its fystem, or its effect upon other powers?-4. Whether any publick declarations or engagements exist, on the part of the allied powers, which stand in the way of a treaty of peace, which supposes the right and confirms the power of the regicide faction in France?—5. What the state of the other powers of Europe will be with respect to each other, and their colonies, on the conclusion of a regicide peace?-6. Whether we are driven to the absolute necessity of making that kind of peace?

These heads of inquiry will enable us to make the application of the several matters of fact and topicks of argument, that occur in this vast discussion, to certain fixed principles. I do not mean mean to confine myself to the order in which they stand. I shall discuss them in such a manner as shall appear to me the best adapted for shewing their mutual bearings and relations. Here then I close the publick matter of my letter; but before I have done, let me say one word in apology for myself.

In wishing this nominal peace not to be precipitated, I am fure no man living is less disposed to blame the present ministry than I am. Some of my oldest friends, (and I wish I could say it of more of them) make a part in that ministry. There are fome indeed, "whom my dim eyes in vain ex-" plore." In my mind, a greater calamity could not have fallen on the publick than the exclusion of one of them. But I drive away that, with other melancholy thoughts. A great deal ought to be faid upon that subject or nothing. As to the distinguished persons to whom my friends who remain are joined, if benefits, nobly and generously conferred, ought to procure good wishes, they are entitled to my best vows; and they have them all. They have administered to me the only consolation I am capable of receiving, which is to know that no individual will fuffer by my thirty years fervice to the publick. If things should give us the comparative happiness of a struggle, I shall be found, E was going to fay fighting, (that would be foolish) but dying by the fide of Mr. Pitt. I must add, that

that if any thing defensive in our domestick system can possibly save us from the disasters of a regicide peace, he is the man to fave us. If the finances in fuch a case can be repaired, he is the man to repair them. If I should lament any of his acts, it is only when they appear to me to have no resemblance to acts of his. But let him not have a confidence in himself, which no human abilities can warrant. His abilities are fully equal (and that is to fay much for any man) to those which are opposed to him. But if we look to him as our fecurity against the consequences of a regicide peace, let us be assured, that a regicide peace and a constitutional ministry are terms that will not agree. With a regicide peace the king cannot long have a minister to serve him, nor the minister a king to ferve. If the Great Disposer, in reward of the royal and the private virtues of our fovereign, should call him from the calamitous spectacles, which will attend a state of amity with regicide, his successor will furely see them, unless the same Providence greatly anticipates the course of nature. ing thus (and not, as I conceive, on light grounds) I dare not flatter the reigning fovereign, nor any minister he has or can have, nor his successor apparent, nor any of those who may be called to serve him, with what appears to me a false state of their fituation. We cannot have them and that peace together.

I do

I do not forget that there had been a confiderable difference between several of our friends. (with my infignificant felf) and the great man at the head of ministry, in an early stage of these discussions. But I am sure there was a period in which we agreed better in the danger of a jacobin existence in France. At one time he and all Europe seemed to feel it. But why am not I converted with fo many great powers, and fo many great ministers? It is because I am old and slow.-I am in this year, 1796, only where all the powers of Europe were in 1793. I cannot move with this precession of the equinoxes, which is preparing for us the return of some very old, I am afraid no golden æra, or the commencement of somenew æra that must be denominated from some new metal. In this crifis I must hold my tongue, or I must speak with freedom. Falshood and delusion are allowed in no case whatever: but, as in the exercise of all the virtues, there is an economy of truth. It is a fort of temperance, by which a man speaks truth with measure that he may speak it the longer. But as the fame rules do not hold in all cases—what would be right for you, who may presume on a feries of years before you, would have no fense for me, who cannot, without abfurdity, calculate on fix months of life. What I fay, I must fay at once. Whatever I write is in its nature testamentary. It may have the weakness, but it has the sincerity of a dying

a dying declaration. For the few days I have to linger here, I am removed completely from the bufy scene of the world; but I hold myself to be still responsible for every thing that I have done whilst I continued on the place of action. If the rawest Tyro in politicks has been influenced by the authority of my grey hairs, and led by any thing in my speeches, or my writings, to enter into this war, he has a right to call upon me to know why I have changed my opinions, or why, when those I voted with, have adopted better notions, I perfevere in exploded errour?

When I feem not to acquiesce in the acts of those I respect in every degree short of superstition, I am obliged to give my reasons fully. I cannot set my authority against their authority. But to exert reason is not to revolt against authority. Reason and authority do not move in the same parallel. That reason is an amicus curiæ who speaks de plane, not pro tribunali. It is a friend who makes an useful suggestion to the court, without questioning its jurisdiction. Whilst he acknowledges its competence, he promotes its essimilation. I shall pursue the plan I have chalked out in my letters that follow this.

Vol. VIII.

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LETTER II.

ON THE

GENIUS AND CHARACTER

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

AS IT REGARDS

OTHER NATIONS.

1796.

LETTER II.

ON THE

Genius and Character of the French Revolution as it regards other Nations.

MY DEAR SIR,

and I hope it has employed your thoughts. The fystem of peace must have a reference to the fystem of the war. On that ground, I must therefore again recal your mind to our original opinions, which time and events have not taught me to vary.

My ideas and my principle led me, in this contest, to encounter France, not as a state, but as a faction. The vast territorial extent of that country, its immense population, its riches of production, its riches of commerce and convention—the whole aggregate mass of what, in ordinary cases, constitutes the force of a state, to me were but objects of secondary consideration. They might be balanced; and they have been often more than balanced. Great as these things are, they are not what make the faction formidable. It is

the faction that makes them truly dreadful. That faction is the evil spirit that possesses the body of France; that informs it as a foul; that stamps upon its ambition, and upon all its pursuits, a characteristick mark, which strongly distinguishes them from the same general passions, and the same general views, in other men and in other commu-It is that spirit which inspires into them, a new, a pernicious, a desolating activity. stituted as France was ten years ago, it was not in that France to shake, to shatter, and to overwhelm Europe in the manner that we behold. A fure destruction impends over those infatuated princes, who, in the conflict with this new and unheard-of power, proceed as if they were engaged in a war that bore a resemblance to their former contests: or that they can make peace in the spirit of their former arrangements of pacification. Here the beaten path is the very reverse of the fafe road.

As to me, I was always steadily of opinion, that this disorder was not in its nature intermittent. I sonceived that the contest once begun, could not be laid down again, to be resumed at our discretion; but that our first struggle with this evil would also be our last. I never thought we could make peace with the system; because it was not for the sake of an object we pursued in rivalry with each other, but with the system itself that we were at war. As I understood the matter, we were at

War

war not with its conduct, but with its existence; convinced that its existence and its hostility were the same.

The faction is not local or territorial. It is a general evil. Where it least appears in action, it is still full of life. In its sleep it recruits its strength, and prepares its exertion. Its spirit lies deep in the corruption of our common nature. The focial order which restrains it, feeds it. It exists in every country in Europe; and among all orders of men in every country, who look up to France as to a common head. The centre is there. The circumference is the world of Europe whereever the race of Europe may be fettled. Every where else the faction is militant; in France it is triumphant. In France is the bank of deposit, and the bank of circulation, of all the pernicious principles that are forming in every state. It will be a folly scarcely deserving of pity, and too mischievous for contempt, to think of restraining it in any other country whilst it is predominant there. War, instead of being the cause of its force, has suspended its operation. It has given a reprieve, at least, to the Christian world.

The true nature of a jacobin war, in the beginning, was, by most of the Christian powers, felt, acknowledged, and even in the most precise manner declared. In the joint manifesto, published by the emperour and the king of Prussia, on the 4th

of

of August 1792, it is expressed in the clearest terms. and on principles, which could not fail, if they had adhered to them, of claffing those monarchs with the first benefactors of mankind. This manifesto was published, as they themselves express it, " to lay open to the present generation, as well as " to posterity, their motives, their intentions, and "the disinterestedness of their personal views; tak-"ing up arms for the purpose of preserving social " and political order amongst all civilized nations, " and to secure to each state its religion, happi-"nefs, independence, territories, and real con-"fitution."-" On this ground, they hoped that "all empires, and all states would be unani-" mous; and becoming the firm guardians of "the happiness of mankind, that they could not " fail to unite their efforts to rescue a numerous " nation from its own fury, to preserve Europe a from the return of barbarism, and the universe " from the fubversion and anarchy with which it " was threatened." The whole of that noble performance ought to be read at the first meeting of any congress, which may assemble for the purpose of pacification. In that piece "these powers ex-" pressly renounce all views of personal aggran-" dizement," and confine themselves to objects worthy of fo generous, fo heroick, and fo perfectly wife and politick an enterprise. It was to the principles of this confederation and to no other, that

we wished our fovereign and our country to accede, as a part of the commonwealth of Europe. To these principles with some trisling exceptions and limitations they did fully accede *. And all our friends who took office acceded to the ministry (whether wisely or not) as I always understood the matter, on the faith and on the principles of that declaration.

As long as these powers flattered themselves that the menace of force would produce the effect of force, they acted on those declarations: but when their menaces failed of fuccess, their efforts took a new direction. It did not appear to them that virtue and heroifm ought to be purchased by millions of rix-dollars. It is a dreadful truth, but it is a truth that cannot be concealed; in ability, in dexterity, in the distinctness of their views, the Jacobins are our fuperiours. They faw the thing right from the very beginning. Whatever were the first motives to the war among politicians, they faw that in its spirit, and for its objects, it was a civil war; and as fuch they purfued it. It is a war between the partifans of the antient, civil, moral, and political order of Europe against a sect of fanatical and ambitious atheifts which means to change them all. It is not France extending a foreign empire over other nations: it is a fect aiming at univerfal empire, and beginning with the conquest of France.

* See declaration, Whitehall, October 29, 1793.

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The leaders of that fect fecured the centre of Europe; and that fecured, they knew, that whatever might be the event of battles and sieges, their cause was victorious. Whether its territory had a little more or a little less peeled from its surface, or whether an island or two was detached from its commerce, to them was of little moment. The conquest of France was a glorious acquisition. That once well laid as a basis of empire, opportunities never could be wanting to regain or to replace what had been lost, and dreadfully to avenge themselves on the faction of their adversaries.

They faw it was a civil war. It was their bufiness to persuade their adversaries that it ought to be a foreign war. The jacobins every where fet up a cry against the new crusade; and they intrigued with effect in the cabinet, in the field, and in every private fociety in Europe. Their task was not difficult. The condition of princes, and fometimes of first ministers too, is to be pitied. The creatures of the desk, and the creatures of favour, had no relish for the principles of the manifestoes. They promised no governments, no regiments, no revenues from whence emoluments might arife, by perquisite or by grant. In truth, the tribe of vulgar politicians are the lowest of our species. There is no trade so vile and mechanical as government in their hands. Virtue is not their habit. They are out of themselves in any course of conduct recommended

mended only by conscience and glory. A large, liberal and prospective view of the interests of states passes with them for romance; and the principles that recommend it for the wanderings of a disordered imagination. The calculators compute them out of their senses. The jesters and bussions shame them out of every thing grand and elevated. Littleness in object and in means, to them appears soundness and sobriety. They think there is nothing worth pursuit, but that which they can handle; which they can measure with a two-soot rule; which they can tell upon ten singers.

Without the principles of the jacobins, perhaps without any principles at all, they played the game of that faction. There was a beaten road before them. The powers of Europe were armed; France had always appeared dangerous; the war was eafily diverted from France as a faction, to France as a state. The princes were easily taught to slide back. into their old habitual course of politicks. They were eafily led to confider the flames that were confuming France, not as a warning to protect their own buildings (which were without any party wall, and linked by a contignation into the edifice of France), but as an happy occasion for pillaging the goods, and for carrying off the materials of their neighbour's house. Their provident fears were changed into avaricious hopes. They carried on their new designs without seeming to abandon the principles

principles of their old policy. They pretended to feek, or they flattered themselves that they sought, in the accession of new fortresses, and new territories, a defensive security. But the security wanted was against a kind of power, which was not so truly dangerous in its fortresses nor in its territories, as in its spirit and its principles. They aimed, or pretended to aim, at defending themselves against a danger, from which there can be no security in any descensive plan. If armies and fortresses were a defence against jacobinism, Louis the Sixteenth would this day reign a powerful monarch over an happy people.

This errour obliged them, even in their offenfive operations, to adopt a plan of war, against the success of which there was something little short of mathematical demonstration. They refused to take any flep which might strike at the heart of affairs. They feemed unwilling to wound the enemy in any vital part. They acted through the whole, as if they really wished the conservation of the jacobin power; as what might be more favourable than the lawful government to the attainment of the petty objects they looked for. They always kept on the circumference; and the wider and remoter the circle was, the more eagerly they chose it as their sphere of action in this centrifugal war. The plan they purfued, in its nature demanded great length of time. In its execution, they, who went

went the nearest way to work, were obliged to cover an incredible extent of country. It left to the enemy every means of destroying this extended line of weakness. Ill success in any part was sure to deseat the effect of the whole. This is true of Austria. It is still more true of England. On this false plan, even good fortune, by further weakening the victor, put him but the further off from his object.

As long as there was any appearance of fuccess, the spirit of aggrandizement, and consequently the spirit of mutual jealousy seized upon all the coalesced powers. Some sought an accession of territory at the expence of France, some at the expence of each other; some at the expence of third parties; and when the vicissitude of disaster took its turn, they sound common distress a treacherous bond of faith and friendship.

The greatest skill conducting the greatest military apparatus has been employed; but it has been worse than uselessly employed, through the salse policy of the war. The operations of the field suffered by the errours of the cabinet. If the same spirit continues when peace is made, the peace will six and perpetuate all the errours of the war; because it will be made upon the same salse principle. What has been lost in the field, in the sield may be regained. An arrangement of peace in its nature is a permanent settlement; it is the effect of counsel

counsel and deliberation, and not of fortuitous events. If built upon a basis fundamentally erroneous, it can only be retrieved by some of those unforeseen dispensations, which the all-wise but mysterious Governour of the world, sometimes interposes, to snatch nations from ruin. It would not be pious errour, but mad and impious presumption for any one to trust in an unknown order of dispensations, in desiance of the rules of prudence, which are formed upon the known march of the ordinary providence of God.

It was not of that fort of war that I was amongst the least considerable, but amongst the most zealous advifers; and it is not by the fort of peace now talked of, that I wish it concluded. It would anfwer no great purpose to enter into the particular errours of the war. The whole has been but one errour. It was but nominally a war of alliance. As the combined powers purfued it, there was nothing to hold an alliance together. There could be no tie of bonour, in a fociety for pillage. There could be no tie of a common interest where the object did not offer fuch a division amongst the parties, as could well give them a warm concern in the gains of each other, or could indeed form such a body of equivalents, as might make one of them willing to abandon a separate object of his ambition for the gratification of any other member of the alliance. The partition of Poland offered an object of spoil in which

which the parties might agree. They were circumjacent; and each might take a portion convenient to his own territory. They might dispute about the value of their several shares, but the contiguity to each of the demandants always furnished the means of an adjustment. Though hereafter the worldwill have cause to rue this iniquitous measure, and they most who were most concerned in it, for the moment, there was wherewithal in the object to preserve peace amongst confederates in wrong. But the spoil of France did not afford the same facilities for accommodation. What might fatisfy the house of Austria in a Flemish frontier afforded no equivalent to tempt the cupidity of the king of Prussia. What might be desired by Great Britain in the West Indies, must be coldly and remotely, if at all, felt as an interest at Vienna; and it would be felt as fomething worse than a negative interest at Madrid. Austria, long possessed with unwise and dangerous defigns on Italy, could not be very much in earnest about the conservation of the old patrimony of the house of Savoy: and Sardinia, who owed to an Italian force all her means of shutting out France from Italy, of which she has been supposed to hold the key, would not purchase the means of strength upon one side by yielding it on the other. She would not readily give the posfession of Novara for the hope of Savoy. No continental power was willing to lofe any of its continental

tinental objects for the increase of the naval power of Great Britain; and Great Britain would not give up any of the objects she sought for as the means of an increase to her naval power, to further their aggrandizement.

The moment this war came to be confidered as a war merely of profit, the actual circumstances are such, that it never could become really a war of alliance. Nor can the peace be a peace of alliance, until things are put upon their right bottom.

I don't find it denied, that when a treaty is entered into for peace, a demand will be made on the regicides to furrender a great part of their conquests on the continent. Will they, in the prefent state of the war, make that surrender without an equivalent? This continental cession must of course be made in favour of that party in the alliance, that has fuffered loss. That party has nothing to furnish towards an equivalent. equivalent, for instance, has Holland to offer, who has loft her all? What equivalent can come from the Emperour, every part of whose territories contiguous to France, is already within the pale of the regicide dominion? What equivalent has Sardinia to offer for Savoy and for Nice, I may fay for her whole being? What has she taken from the faction of France? She has loft very near her all; and the has gained nothing. What equivalent has Spain

Spain to give ? Alas! she has already paid for her own ransom the fund of equivalent, and a dreadful equivalent it is, to England and to herself. But I put Spain out of the question; she is a province of the jacobin empire, and she must make peace or war according to the orders she receives from the directory of assassing. In effect and substance, her crown is a sief of regicide.

Whence then can the compensation be demanded? Undoubtedly from that power which alone has made fome conquests. That power is England. Will the allies then give away their ancient patrimony, that England may keep islands in the West Indies? They never can protract the war in good earnest for that object; nor can they act in concert with us, in our refusal to grant any thing towards their redemption. In that case we are thus Either we must give Europe, bound hand and foot, to France; or we must quit the West Indies without any one object, great or small, towards indemnity and fecurity. I repeat it without any advantage whatever: because, supposing that our conquest could comprise all that France ever possessed in the tropical America, it never can amount in any fair estimation to a fair equivalent for Holland, for the Austrian Netherlands, for the lower Germany, that is for the whole ancient kingdom or circle of Burgundy, now under the yoke of regicide, to fay nothing of almost all Italy under Vol. VIII.

the same barbarous domination. If we treat in the present situation of things, we have nothing in our hands that can redeem Europe. Nor is the emperour, as I have observed, more rich in the fund of equivalents.

If we look to our stock in the eastern world. our most valuable and systematick acquisitions are made in that quarter. Is it from France they are made? France has but one or two contemptible factories, fubfilling by the offal of the private fortunes of English individuals to support them, in any part of India. I look on the taking of the Cape of Good Hope as the securing of a post of great moment. It does honour to those who planned, and to those who executed that enterprise: but I speak of it always as comparatively good; as good as any thing can be in a scheme of war that repels us from a centre, and employs all our forces where nothing can be finally decifive. But giving, as I freely give, every possible credit to these eastern conquests, I ask one question, on whom are they made? It is evident, that if we can keep our eastern conquests, we keep them not at the expence of France, but at the expence of Holland our ally; of Holland the immediate cause of the war, the nation whom we had undertaken to protect, and not of the republick which it was our business to destroy. If we return the African and the Afiatick conquests, we put them into the hands

of a nominal state (to that Holland is reduced) unable to retain them; and which will virtually leave them under the direction of France. If we withhold them, Holland declines still more as a state. She loses so much carrying trade and that means of keeping up the small degree of naval power she holds; for which policy alone, and not for any commercial gain, she maintains the Cape, or any settlement beyond it. In that case, resentment, saction, and even necessity will throw her more and more into the power of the new mischievous republick. But on the probable state of Holland, I shall say more, when in this correspondence I come to talk over with you the state in which any fort of jacobin peace will leave all Europe.

So far as to the East Indies.

As to the West Indies, indeed as to either, if we look for matter of exchange in order to ransom Europe, it is easy to shew that we have taken a terrible roundabout road. I cannot conceive, even if, for the sake of holding conquests there, we should refuse to redeem Holland, and the Austrian Netherlands, and the hither Germany, that Spain, merely as she is Spain (and forgetting that the regicide ambassador governs at Madrid) will see with perfect satisfaction, Great Britain sole mistress of the Isles. In truth it appears to me, that, when we come to balance our account, we shall sind in the proposed peace only the pure, simple, and unendowed

endowed charms of jacobin amity. We shall have the satisfaction of knowing, that no blood or treafure has been spared by the allies for support of the regicide system. We shall reslect at leisure on one great truth, that it was ten times more easy totally to destroy the system itself, than when established; it would be to reduce its power, and that this republick, most formidable abroad, was, of all things, the weakest at home; that her frontier was terrible, her interiour seeble; that it was matte: of choice to attack her where she is invincible, and to spare her where she was ready to dissolve by her own internal disorders. We shall reslect, that our plan was good neither for offence nor desence.

It would not be at all difficult to prove, that an army of a hundred thousand men, horse, soot, and artillery, might have been employed against the enemy on the very soil which he has usurped at a far less expence than has been squandered away upon tropical adventures. In these adventures it was not an enemy we had to vanquish, but a cemetery to conquer. In carrying on the war in the West Indies, the hostile sword is merciful; the country in which we engage is the dreadful enemy. There the European conqueror sinds a cruel deseat in the very fruits of his success. Every advantage is but a new demand on England for recruits to the West Indian grave. In a West India war, the regicides have for their

troops.

troops, a race of fierce barbarians, to whom the poisoned air, in which our youth inhale certain death, is falubrity and life. To them the climate is the furest and most faithful of allies.

Had we carried on the war on the fide of France which looks towards the channel or the Atlantick, we should have attacked our enemy on his weak and unarmed fide. We should not have to reckon on the loss of a man, who did not fall in battle. We should have an ally in the heart of the country, who to our hundred thousand, would at one time have added eighty thousand men at the leaft. and all animated by principle, by enthusiasm and by vengeance; motives which secured them to the cause in a very different manner from some of those allies whom we subsidized with millions. This ally (or rather this principal in the war) by the confession of the regicide himself, was more formidable to him than all his other foes united. Warring there, we should have led our arms to the capital of Wrong. Defeated, we could not fail (proper precautions taken) of a fure retreat. Stationary, and only supporting the royalists, an impenetrable barrier, an impregnable rampart would have been formed between the enemy and his naval power. We are probably the only nation who have declined to act against an enemy, when it might have been done in his own country; and who having an armed, a powerful, and a long victorious Q 3

torious ally in that country, declined all effectual co-operation, and suffered him to perish for want of support. On the plan of a war in France, every advantage that our allies might obtain, would be doubled in its effect. Disasters on the one side, might have a fair chance of being compensated by victories on the other. Had we brought the main of our force to bear upon that quarter, all the operations of the British and Imperial crowns would have been combined. The war would have had system, correspondence, and a certain direction. But as the war has been pursued, the operations of the two crowns have not the smallest degree of mutual bearing relation.

Had acquisitions in the West Indies been our object, on fuccess in France, every thing reasonable in those remote parts might be demanded with decorum, and justice, and a sure effect. Well might we call for a recompence in America, for those fervices to which Europe owed its fafety. Having abandoned this obvious policy connected with principle, we have feen the regicide power taking the reverse course, and making real conquests in the West Indies, to which all our dearbought advantages (if we could hold them) are mean and contemptible. The noblest island within the tropicks, worth all that we possess put together, is, by the vaffal Spaniard, delivered into her hands. The island of Hispaniola (of which we have have but one poor corner, by a flippery hold) is perhaps equal to England in extent, and in fertility is far fuperiour. The part possessed by Spain, of that great island, made for the seat and center of a tropical empire, was not improved, to be sure, as the French division had been, before it was systematically destroyed by the cannibal republick; but it is not only the far larger but the far more salubrious, and more fertile part.

It was delivered into the hands of the barbarians without, as I can find, any publick reclamation on our part, not only in contravention to one of the fundamental treaties that compose the publick law. of Europe, but in defiance of the fundamental colonial policy of Spain herself. This part of the treaty of Utrecht was made for great general ends unquestionably; but whilst it provided for those general ends, it was in affirmance of that particular policy. It was not to injure but to fave Spain, by making a fettlement of her estate, which prohibited her to alienate to France. It is her policy, not to fee the balance of West Indian power overturned by France or by Great Britain. Whilst the monarchies subsisted, this unprincipled cession was what the influence of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon never dared to attempt on the younger: but cannibal terrour has been more powerful than family influence. The Bourbon monarchy of Spain

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is united to the republick of France, by what may be truly called the ties of blood.

By this measure the balance of power in the West Indies is totally destroyed. It has followed the balance of power in Europe. It is not alone what shall be left nominally to the affassins that is theirs. Theirs is the whole empire of Spain in America. That stroke finishes all. I should be glad to see our suppliant negotiator in the act of putting his feather to the ear of the directory, to make it unclench the fift; and by his tickling, to charm that rich prize out of the iron gripe of robbery and ambition! It does not require much fagacity to discern, that no power wholly baffled and defeated in Europe, can flatter itself with conquests in the West Indies. In that state of things it can neither keep nor hold. No! It cannot even long make war, if the grand bank and deposit of its force is at all in the West Indies. But here a scene opens to my view too important to pass by, perhaps too critical to touch. Is it possible, that it should not present itself in all its relations, to a mind habituated to confider either war or peace on a large fcale, or as one whole?

Unfortunately other ideas have prevailed. A remote, an expensive, a murderous, and in the end, an unproductive adventure, carried on upon ideas of mercantile knight-errantry, without any of the generous wildness of Quixotism, is considered as found,

found, folid fense; and a war in a wholesome climate, a war at our door, a war directly on the enemy, a war in the heart of his country, a war in concert with an internal ally, and in combination with the external, is regarded as folly and romance.

My dear friend, I hold it impossible that these considerations should have escaped the statesmen on both sides of the water, and on both sides of the house of commons. How a question of peace can be discussed without having them in view, I cannot imagine. If you or others see a way out of these disticulties I am happy. I see indeed a fund from whence equivalents will be proposed. I see it. But I cannot just now touch it. It is a question of high moment. It opens another sliad of woes to Europe.

Such is the time proposed for making a common political peace, to which no one circumstance is propitious. As to the grand principle of the peace, it is left, as if by common consent, wholly out of the question.

Viewing things in this light, I have frequently funk into a degree of despondency and dejection hardly to be described: yet out of the prosoundest depths of this despair, an impulse which I have in vain endeavoured to resist, has urged me to raise one seeble cry against this unfortunate coalition which is formed at home, in order to make a coalition

lition with France, subversive of the whole ancient order of the world. No disaster of war, no calamity of season could ever strike me with half the horrour which I selt from what is introduced to us by this junction of parties, under the soothing name of peace. We are apt to speak of a low and pusillanimous spirit as the ordinary cause by which dubious wars terminate in humiliating treaties. It is here the direct contrary. I am perfectly assonished at the boldness of character, at the intrepidity of mind, the sirmness of nerve, in those who are able with deliberation to face the perils of jacobin fraternity.

This fraternity is indeed fo terrible in its nature, and in its manifest consequences, that there is no way of quieting our apprehensions about it, but by totally putting it out of fight, by fubilituting for it, through a fort of periphrasis, something of an ambiguous quality, and describing such a connection under the terms of "the ufual relations of " peace and amity." By this means the proposed fraternity is huftled in the crowd of those treaties, which imply no change in the publick law of Europe, and which do not upon fystem affect the interiour condition of nations. It is confounded with those conventions in which matters of dispute among fovereign powers are compromised, by the taking off a duty more or less, by the furrender of a frontier town, or a disputed district on the one side

or the other; by pactions in which the pretentions of families are fettled, (as by a conveyancer, making family fubfitutions and fuccessions) without any alterations in the laws, manners, religion, privileges and customs of the cities or territories which are the subject of such arrangements.

All this body of old conventions, composing the vast and voluminous collection called the corps diplomatique, forms the code or statute law, as the methodized reasonings of the great publicists and jurists form the digest and jurisprudence of the Christian world. In these treasures are to be found the usual relations of peace and amity in civilized Europe; and there the relations of ancient France were to be found amongst the rest.

The present system in France is not the ancient France. It is not the ancient France with ordinary ambition and ordinary means. It is not a new power of an old kind. It is a new power of a new species. When such a questionable shape is to be admitted for the first time into the brotherhood of Christendom, it is not a mere matter of idle curiosity to consider how far it is in its nature alliable with the rest, or whether "the relations of peace and amity" with this new state are likely to be of the same nature with the usual relations of the states of Europe.

The revolution in France had the relation of France to other nations as one of its principal objects.

objects. The changes made by that revolution were not the better to accommodate her to the old and usual relations, but to produce new ones. The revolution was made, not to make France free, but to make her formidable; not to make her a neighbour, but a mistress; not to make her more observant of laws, but to put her in a condition to impose them. To make France truly formidable it was necessary that France should be newmodelled. They who have not followed the train of the late proceedings, have been led by deceitful reprefentations (which deceit made a part in the plan) to conceive that this totally new model of a state in which nothing escaped a change, was made with a view to its internal relations only.

In the Revolution of France two forts of men were principally concerned in giving a character and determination to its pursuits; the philosophers and the politicians. They took different ways, but they met in the same end. The philosophers had one predominant object, which they pursued with a fanatical fury, that is, the utter extirpation of religion. To that every question of empire was subordinate. They had rather domineer in a parish of atheists, than rule over a christian world. Their temporal ambition was wholly subservient to their proselytizing spirit, in which they were not exceeded by Mahomet himself.

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They who have made but superficial studies in the natural history of the human mind, have been taught to look on religious opinions as the only cause of enthusiastick zeal, and sectarian propagation. But there is no doctrine whatever, on which men can warm, that is not capable of the very fame effect. The focial nature of man impels him to propagate his principles, as much as physical impulses urge him to propagate his kind. The pasfions give zeal and vehemence. The understanding bestows design and system. The whole man moves under the discipline of his opinions. Religion is among the most powerful causes of enthusiasm. When any thing concerning it becomes an object of much meditation, it cannot be indifferent to the mind. They who do not love religion, hate it. The rebels to God perfectly abhor the author of their being. They hate him " with " all their heart, with all their mind, with all their " foul, and with all their strength." He never presents himself to their thoughts, but to menace and alarm them. They cannot strike the fun out of Heaven, but they are able to raise a smouldering smoke that obscures him from their own eyes, Not being able to revenge themselves on God, they have a delight in vicariously defacing, degrading, torturing, and tearing in pieces his image in man. Let no one judge of them by what he has conceived of them, when they were not incorporated,

and had no lead. They were then only passengers in a common vehicle. They were then carried along with the general motion of religion in the community, and without being aware of it, partook of its influence. In that fituation, at worst, their nature was left free to counterwork their principles. They despaired of giving any very general currency to their opinions. They confidered them as a referved privilege for the chosen few. But when the possibility of dominion, lead, and propagation presented themselves, and that the ambition, which before had fo often made them hypocrites, might rather gain than lofe by a daring avowal of their fentiments, then the nature of this infernal spirit, which has "evil for its good," appeared in its full perfection. Nothing indeed but the possession of some power can with any certainty discover, what at the bottom is the true character of any man. Without reading the speeches of Vergniaud, Français of Nantz, Isnard, and some others of that fort, it would not be eafy to conceive the passion, rancour, and malice of their tongues and hearts. They worked themselves up to a perfect frenzy against religion and all its professors. They tore the reputation of the elergy to pieces by their infuriated declamations and invectives, before they lacerated their bodies by their massacres. This fanatical atheism left out, we omit the principal feature in the French revolution, and a prina principal confideration with regard to the effects to be expected from a peace with it.

The other fort of men were the politicians. To them who had little or not at all reflected on the fubject, religion was in itself no object of love or hatred. They disbelieved it, and that was all. Neutral with regard to that object, they took the fide which in the present state of things might best answer their purposes. They soon found that they could not do without the philosophers; and the philosophers soon made them sensible, that the destruction of religion was to supply them with means of conquest first at home, and then abroad. The philosophers were the active internal agitators, and fupplied the spirit and principles: the second gave the practical direction. Sometimes the one predominated in the composition, sometimes the other. The only difference between them was in the necessity of concealing the general design for a time, and in their dealing with foreign nations; the fanaticks going strait forward and openly, the politicians by the furer mode of zigzag. In the course of events this, among other causes, produced sierce and bloody contentions between them. But at the bottom they thoroughly agreed in all the objects of ambition and irreligion, and fubstantially in all the means of promoting these ends.

Without question, to bring about the unexampled

pled event of the French revolution, the concurrence of a very great number of views and passions was necessary. In that stupendous work, no one principle by which the human mind may have its faculties at once invigorated and depraved, was left unemployed; but I can speak it to a certainty, and support it by undoubted proofs, that the ruling principle of those who acted in the revolution as statesmen, had the exterior aggrandizement of France as their ultimate end in the most minute part of the internal changes that were made. We, who of late years have been drawn from an attention to foreign affairs by the importance of our domestick discussions, cannot easily form a conception of the general eagerness of the active and energetick part of the French nation, itself the most active and energetick of all nations, previous to its revolution, upon that subject. I am convinced that the foreign speculators in France, under the old government, were twenty to one of the fame description then or now in England; and few of that description there were, who did not emulously fet forward the revolution. 'The whole official fystem, particularly in the diplomatick part, the regulars, the irregulars, down to the clerks in office, (a corps, without all comparison, more numerous than the same amongst us) co-operated in it. the intriguers in foreign politicks, all the spies, all the

the intelligencers, actually or late in function, all the candidates for that fort of employment, acted folely upon that principle.

On that fystem of aggrandizement there was but one mind: but two violent factions arose about the means. The first wished France, diverted from the politicks of the continent, to attend folely to her marine, to feed it by an increase of commerce, and thereby to overpower England on her own element. They contended, that if England were disabled, the powers on the continent would fall into their proper subordination; that it was England which deranged the whole continental system of Europe. The others, who were by far the more numerous, though not the most outwardly prevalent at court, considered this plan for France as contrary to her genius, her fituation, and her natural means. They agreed as to the ultimate object, the reduction of the British power, and, if possible, its naval power; but they considered an ascendancy on the continent as a necessary preliminary to that undertaking. They argued, that the proceedings of England herself had proved the soundness of this policy. That her greatest and ablest statesmen had not confidered the support of a continental balance against France as a deviation from the principle of her naval power, but as one of the most effectual modes of carrying it into effect. That fuch had been her policy ever fince the revolution; during which Vol. VIII. R.

which period the naval strength of Great Britain had gone on increasing in the direct ratio of her interference in the politicks of the continent. With much stronger reason ought the politicks of France to take the same direction; as well for pursuing objects which her situation would dictate to her, though England had no existence, as for counteracting the politicks of that nation; to France continental politicks are primary; they looked on them only of secondary consideration to England, and however necessary, but as means necessary to an end.

What is truly aftonishing, the partisans of those two opposite systems were at once prevalent, and at once employed, and in the very fame transactions, the one oftenfibly, the other fecretly, during the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. Nor was there one court in which an ambaffador refided on the part of the ministers, in which another as a spy on him did not also reside on the part of the king. They who purfued the scheme for keeping peace on the continent, and particularly with Austria, acting officially and publickly, the other faction counteracting and opposing them. These private agents were continually going from their function to the Bastille, and from the Bastille to employment, and favour again. An inextricable cabal was formed, fome of persons of rank, others of subordinates. But by this means the corps of politicians was augmented augmented in number, and the whole formed a body of active, adventuring, ambitious, discontented people, despising the regular ministry, despising the courts at which they were employed, despising the court which employed them.

The unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth * was not the first cause of the evil by which he suffered. He came to it, as to a sort of inheritance, by the salse politicks of his immediate predecessor. This system of dark and perplexed intrigue had come to its perfection before he came to the throne: and even then the revolution strongly operated in all its ausses.

There was no point on which the discontented diplomatick politicians so bitterly arraigned their

• It may be right to do justice to Louis XVI. He did what he could to destroy the double diplomacy of France. He had all the fecret correspondence burnt, except one piece, which was called, Conjectures raisonnées sur la situation de la France dans le sufteme politique de l'Europe; a work executed by M. Favier, under the direction of count Broglie. A fingle copy of this was faid to have been found in the cabinet of Louis XVI. It was published with some subsequent state papers of Vergennes, Turgot, and others, as, " a new benefit of the revolution;" and the advertisement to the publication ends with the following words " Il fera fucile de fe convaincre, qu' Y COMPRIS MEME LA REVOLUTION, en grande partie, ON TROUVE DANS CES MEMOIRES ET SES CON-JECTURES LE GERME DE TOUT CE QU'ARRIVA AUJOURD'HUI, & qu'on ne peut sans les avoir lus, être bien au fait des intérêts, & même des vues actuelles des diverses puissances de l'Europe." The book is entitled, Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe pendant les regnes de Louis XV. & Louis XVI. It is altogether very curious, and worth reading.

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cabinet, as for the decay of French influence in all others. From quarrelling with the court, they began to complain of monarchy itself; as a system of government too variable for any regular plan of national aggrandizement. They observed, that in that fort of regimen too much depended on the personal character of the prince; that the vicisiitudes produced by the fuccession of princes of a different character, and even the vicissitudes produced in the same man, by the different views and inclinations belonging to youth, manhood, and age, disturbed and distracted the policy of a country made by nature for extensive empire or what was still more to their taste, for that fort of general over-ruling influence which prepared empire or fupplied the place of it. They had continually in their hands the observations of Machiavel on Livy. They had Montesquieu's Grandeur & Décadence des Romains as a manual; and they compared with mortification the fystematick proceedings of a Roman fenate with the fluctuations of a monarchy. They observed, the very finall additions of territory which all the power of France, actuated by all the ambition of France, had acquired in two centuries. The Romans had frequently acquired more in a fingle year. They feverely and in every part of it criticised the reign of Louis the XIV, whose irregular and defultory ambition had more provoked than endangered Europe. Indeed, they who will be at the the pains of seriously considering the history of that period will see, that those French politicians had some reason. They who will not take the trouble of reviewing it through all its wars and all its negotiations, will consult the short but judicious criticism of the marquis de Montalembert on that subject. It may be read separately from his ingenious system of fortification and military defence, on the practical merit of which I am unable to form a judgment.

The diplomatick politicians of whom I speak, and who formed by far the majority in that class, made difadvantageous comparisons even between their more legal and formalifing monarchy, and the monarchies of other states, as a system of power and influence. They observed, that France not only lost ground herself, but through the languor and unsteadiness of her pursuits, and from her aiming through commerce at naval force which she never could attain without losing more on one side than she could gain on the other, three great powers, each of them (as military states) capable of balancing her, had grown up on the continent. Russia and Prussia had been created almost within memory; and Austria, though not a new power, and even curtailed in territory, was by the very collision in which she lost that territory, greatly improved in her military discipline and force. During the reign of Maria Therefa the interiour oconomy

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of the country was made more to correspond with the support of great armies than formerly it had been. As to Prussia, a merely military power, they observed that one war had enriched her with as confiderable a conquest as France had acquired in centuries. Russia had broken the Turkish power by which Austria might be, as formerly she had been, balanced in favour of France. They felt it with pain, that the two northern powers of Sweden and Denmark were in general under the fway of Russia; or that at best, France kept up a very doubtful conflict, with many fluctuations of fortune, and at an enormous expence in Sweden. In Holland, the French party seemed, if not extinguished, at least utterly obscured, and kept under by a stadtholder, leaning for support sometimes on Great Britain, fometimes on Prussia, sometimes on both, never on France. Even the spreading of the Bourbon family had become merely a family accommodation; and had little effect on the national politicks. This alliance, they faid, extinguished Spain by destroying all its energy, without adding any thing to the real power of France in the accession of the forces of its great rival. In Italy, the fame family accommodation, the same national infignificance were equally visible. What cure for the radical weakness of the French monarchy, to which all the means which wit could devise, or nature and fortune could bestow, towards universal empire,

empire, was not of force to give life, or vigour, or confiftency,—but in a republick? Out the word came; and it never went back.

Whether they reasoned right or wrong, or that there was some mixture of right and wrong in their reasoning, I am sure, that in this manner they selt and reasoned. The different effects of a great military and ambitious republick, and of a monarchy of the same description were constantly in their mouths. The principle was ready to operate when opportunities should offer, which sew of them indeed foresaw in the extent in which they were afterwards presented; but these opportunities, in some degree or other, they all ardently wished for.

When I was in Paris in 1773, the treaty of 1756 between Austria and France was deplored as a national calamity; because it united France in friendfhip with a power, at whose expence alone they could hope any continental aggrandizement. When the first partition of Poland was made, in which France had no share, and which had farther aggrandized every one of the three powers of which they were most jealous, I found them in a perfect. phrenzy of rage and indignation: not that they were hurt at the shocking and uncoloured violence and injustice of that partition, but at the debility, improvidence, and want of activity in their government, in nod preventing it as a means of aggrandizement to their rivals, or in not contriving, by . * R₄ exchanges

exchanges of some kind or other, to obtain their share of advantage from that robbery.

In that or nearly in that state of things and of opinions, came the Austrian match; which promised to draw the knot, as afterwards in effect it did, still more closely between the old rival houses. This added exceedingly to their hatred and contempt of their monarchy. It was for this reason that the late glorious queen, who on all accounts was formed to produce general love and admiration, and whose life was as mild and beneficent as her death was beyond example great and heroick. became so very soon and so very much the object of an implacable rancour, never to be extinguished but in her blood. When I wrote my letter in anfwer to M. de Menonville, in the beginning of January, 1791, I had good reason for thinking that this description of revolutionists did not so early nor fo fleadily point their murderous defigns at the martyr king as at the royal heroine. accident, and the momentary depression of that part of the faction, that gave to the husband the happy priority in death.

From this their restless desire of an over-ruling influence, they bent a very great part of their designs and efforts to revive the old French party, which was a democratick party in Holland, and to make a revolution there. They were happy at the troubles which the singular imprudence of Joseph the

the fecond had stirred up in the Austrian Netherlands. They rejoiced, when they faw him irritate his fubjects, profess philosophy, send away the Dutch garrisons, and dismantle his fortifications. As to Holland, they never forgave either the king or the ministry, for suffering that object, which they justly looked on as principal in their design of reducing the power of England, to escape out of their hands. This was the true fecret of the commercial treaty, made, on their part, against all the old rules and principles of commerce, with a view of diverting the English nation, by a pursuit of immediate profit, from an attention to the progress of France in its defigns upon that republick. fystem of the economists, which led to the general opening of commerce, facilitated that treaty, but did not produce it. They were in despair when they found that by the vigour of Mr. Pitt, supported in this point by Mr. Fox and the opposition, the object, to which they had facrificed their mapufactures, was lost to their ambition.

This eager defire of raising France from the condition into which she had fallen, as they conceived, from her monarchical imbecility, had been the main spring of their precedent interference in that unhappy American quarrel, the bad effects of which to this nation have not, as yet, fully disclosed themselves. These sentiments had been long lurking in their breasts, though their views were only discovered

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discovered now and then, in heat and as by escapes; but on this occasion they exploded suddenly. They were professed with oftentation, and propagated with zeal. These sentiments were not produced. as fome think, by their American alliance. The American alliance was produced by their republican principles and republican policy. This new relation undoubtedly did much. The discourses and cabals that it produced, the intercourse that it established, and above all, the example, which made it feem practicable to establish a republick in a great extent of country, finished the work, and gave to that part of the revolutionary faction a degree of strength, which required other energies than the late king possessed, to resist, or even to restrain. It spread every where; but it was no where more prevalent than in the heart of the court. The palace of Verfailles, by its language, feemed a forum of democracy. To have pointed out to most of those politicians, from their dispofitions and movements, what has fince happened, the fall of their own monarchy, of their own laws, of their own religion, would have been to furnish a motive the more for pushing forward a system on which they confidered all these things as incumbrances. Such in truth they were. And we have feen them fucceed not only in the destruction of their monarchy; but in all the objects of ambition that they proposed from that destruction. do to When

When I contemplate the scheme on which France is formed, and when I compare it with these systems, with which it is, and ever must be in conslict. those things which seem as defects in her polity, are the very things which make me tremble. The flates of the Christian world have grown up to their present magnitude in a great length of time, and by a great variety of accidents. They have been improved to what we see them with greater or less degrees of felicity and skill. Not one of them has been formed upon a regular plan or with any unity of design. As their constitutions are not systematical, they have not been directed to any peculiar end, eminently diffinguished, and superseding every other. The objects which they embrace are of the greatest possible variety, and have become in a manner infinite. In all these old countries the state has been made to the people, and not the people, conformed to the state. Every state has pursued, not only every fort of focial advantage, but it has cultivated the welfare of every individual. His wants, his wishes, even his tastes, have been confulted. This comprehensive scheme, virtually produced a degree of personal liberty in forms the most adverse to it. That liberty was found, under monarchies stiled absolute, in a degree unknown to the ancient commonwealths. From hence the powers of all our modern states, meet in all their movements, with some obstruction. It is therefore no wonder that when these states are to be confidered as machines to operate for some one great end, that this diffipated and balanced force is not easily concentered, or made to bear with the whole force of the nation upon one point.

The British state is, without question, that which pursues the greatest variety of ends, and is the least disposed to facrifice any one of them to another, or to the whole. It aims at taking in the entire circle of human desires, and securing for them their fair enjoyment. Our legislature has been ever closely connected in its most efficient part, with individual feeling, and individual interest. Personal liberty, the most lively of these feelings and the most important of these interests, which in other European countries has rather arisen from the system of manners and the habitudes of life, than from the laws of the state, (in which it flourished more from neglect than attention) in England, has been a direct object of government.

On this principle England would be the weakest power in the whole system. Fortunately, however, the great riches of this kingdom, arising from a variety of causes, and the disposition of the people, which is as great to spend as to accumulate, has easily afforded a disposeable surplus that gives a mighty momentum to the state. This difficulty, with these advantages to overcome it, has called forth the talents of the English sinanciers, who, by

the furplus of industry poured out by prodigality, have outdone every thing which has been accomplished in other nations. The present minister has outdone his predecessors; and as a minister of revenue, is far above my power of praise. But still there are cases in which England seels more than several others, (though they all feel) the perplexity of an immense body of balanced advantages, and of individual demands, and of some irregularity in the whole mass.

France differs effentially from all those governments which are formed without system, which exist by habit, and which are confused with the multitude, and with the complexity of their purfuits. What now stands as government in France is struck out at a heat. The design is wicked, immoral, impious, oppressive; but it is spirited and daring; it is fystematick; it is simple in its principle; it has unity and confistency in perfection. In that country entirely to cut off a branch of commerce, to extinguish a manufacture, to destroy, the circulation of money, to violate credit, to fufpend the course of agriculture, even to burn a city, or to lay waste a province of their own, does not cost them a moment's anxiety. To them, the will, the wish, the want, the liberty, the toil, the blood of individuals is as nothing. Individuality is left out of their scheme of government. The state is all in all. Every thing is referred to the production

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of force; afterwards, every thing is trusted to the use of it. It is military in its principle, in its maxims, in its spirit, and in all its movements. The state has dominion and conquest for its sole objects; dominion over minds by proselytism, over bodies by arms.

Thus constituted, with an immense body of natural means which are leffened in their amount only to be increased in their effect, France has, fince the accomplishment of the revolution, a complete unity in its direction. It has destroyed every resource of the state, which depends upon opinion and the good-will of individuals. The riches of convention disappear. The advantages of nature in some measure remain: even these, I admit, are aftonishingly lessened; the command over what remains is complete and absolute. We go about asking when assignats will expire, and we laugh at the last price of them. But what signifies the fate of those tickets of despotism? The despotism will find despotick means of supply. They have found the short cut to the productions of nature, while others in pursuit of them, are obliged to wind through the labyrinth of a very intricate state of fociety. They seize upon the fruit of the labour; they feize upon the labourer himself. Were France but half of what it is in population, in compactness, in applicability of its force, fituated as it is, and being what it is, it would be too ftrong for most

most of the states of Europe, constituted as they, are, and proceeding as they proceed. Would it be wife to estimate what the world of Europe, as well as the world of Asia, had to dread from Genghiz Khân, upon a contemplation of the resources of the cold and barren spot in the remotest Tartary, from whence first issued that scourge of the human race? Ought we to judge from the excife and stamp duties of the rocks, or from the paper circulation of the fands of Arabia, the power by which Mahomet and his tribes laid hold at once on the two most powerful empires of the world; beat one of them totally to the ground, broke to pieces the other, and, in not much longer space of time than I have lived, overturned governments, laws, manners, religion, and extended an empire from the Indus to the Pyrences?

Material resources never have supplied, nor ever can supply the want of unity in design and constancy in pursuit. But unity in design, and perseverance, and boldness in pursuit, have never wanted resources, and never will. We have not considered as we ought the dreadful energy of a state, in which the property has nothing to do with the government. Reslect, my dear sir, reslect again and again on a government, in which the property is in complete subjection, and where nothing rules but the mind of desperate men. The condition of a commonwealth not governed by its property

property was a combination of things, which the learned and ingenious speculator Harrington, who has toffed about fociety into all forms, never could imagine to be possible. We have seen it; the world has felt it; and if the world will shut their eyes to this state of things, they will feel it more. The rulers there have found their resources in crimes. The discovery is dreadful: the mine exhaustless. They have every thing to gain, and they have nothing to lofe. They have a boundless inheritance in hope; and there is no medium for them, betwixt the highest elevation, and death with infamy. Never can they who from the miferable fervitude of the desk have been raised to empire, again submit to the bondage of a starving bureau, or the profit of copying musick, or writing plaidovers by the fleet. It has made me often fmile in bitterness, when I have heard talk of an indemnity to fuch men, provided they returned to their allegiance.

From all this, what is my inference? It is, that this new fystem of robbery in France, cannot be rendered safe by any art; that it must be destroyed, or that it will destroy all Europe; that to destroy that enemy, by some means or other, the force opposed to it should be made to bear some analogy and resemblance to the force and spirit which that system exerts; that war ought to be made against it, in its vulnerable parts. These are my inferences.

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rences. In one word, with this republick nothing independent can co-exist. The errours of Louis the XVIth were more pardonable to prudence, than any of those of the same kind into which the allied courts may fall. They have the benefit of his dreadful example.

The unhappy Louis XVI. was a man of the best intentions that probably ever reigned. He was by no means deficient in talents. He had a most laudable defire to fupply by general reading, and even by the acquisition of elemental knowledge, an education in all points originally defective; but nobody told him (and it was no wonder he should not himself divine it) that the world of which he read, and the world in which he lived, were no longer the fame. Defirous of doing every thing for the best, fearful of cabal, distrusting his own judgment, he fought his ministers of all kinds upon publick testimony. But as courts are the field for caballers, the publick is the theatre for mountebanks and impostors. The cure for both those evils is in the discernment of the prince. But an accurate and penetrating difcernment is what in a young prince could not be looked for.

His conduct in its principle was not unwife; but, like most other of his well-meant designs, it failed in his hands. It failed partly from mere ill fortune, to which speculators are rarely pleased to assign that very large share to which she is justly Vol. VIII.

entitled in all human affairs. The failure, perhaps, in part was owing to his fuffering his fystem to be vitiated and disturbed by those intrigues, which it is, humanly speaking, impossible wholly to prevent in courts, or indeed under any form of govern-However, with these aberrations, he gave himself over to a succession of the statesmen of publick opinion. In other things he thought that he might be a king on the terms of his predecef-He was conscious of the purity of his heart and the general good tendency of his government. He flattered himself, as most men in his situation will, that he might confult his eafe without danger to his fafety. It is not at all wonderful that both he and his ministers, giving way abundantly in other respects to innovation, should take up in policy with the tradition of their monarchy. Underhis ancestors the monarchy had subsisted, and even been strengthened by the generation or support of republicks. First, the Swifs republicks grew under the guardianship of the French monarchy. The Dutch republicks were hatched and cherished under the same incubation. Afterwards, a republican constitution was, under the influence of Francé, established in the empire against the pretensions of its chief. Even whilst the monarchy of France, by a feries of wars and negotiations, and laftly by the treatics of Westphalia, had obtained the establishment of the protestants in Germany

many as a law of the empire, the fame monarchy under Louis the XIIIth, had force enough to defiroy the republican fystem of the protestants at home.

Louis the XVIth was a diligent reader of history. But the very lamp of prudence blinded him. The guide of human life led him aftray. A filent revolution in the moral world preceded the political, and prepared it. It became of more importance than ever what examples were given, and what measures were adopted. Their causes no longer lurked in the recesses of cabinets, or in the private conspiracies of the factious. They were no longer to be controlled by the force and influence of the grandees, who formerly had been able to ftir uptroubles by their difcontents, and to quiet them by their corruption. The chain of fubordination, even in cabal and fedition, was broken in its most important links. It was no longer the great and the populace. Other interests were formed, other dependencies, other communications. The middle classes had swelled far beyond their former proportion. Like whatever is the most effectively rich and great in fociety, these classes became the feat of all the active politicks; and the preponderating weight to decide on them. There were all the energies by which fortune is acquired; there the confequence of their fuccefs. There were all the talents which affert their pre-S 2 tensions.

tensions, and are impatient of the place which settled fociety prescribes to them. These descriptions had got between the great and the populace; and the influence on the lower classes was with The spirit of ambition had taken possession of this class as violently as ever it had done of any They felt the importance of this fituation. The correspondence of the monied and the mercantile world, the literary intercourse of academies; but, above all, the prefs, of which they had in a manner entire possession, made a kind of electrick communication every where. The prefs, in reality, has made every government, in its spirit, almost democratick. Without the great, the first movements in this revolution could not, perhaps, have been given. But the spirit of ambition, now for the first time connected with the spirit of speculation, was not to be reftrained at will. There was no longer any means of arresting a principle in its courfe. When Louis the XVIth, under the influence of the enemies to monarchy, meant to found but one republick, he fet up two. When he meant_to take away half the crown of his neighbour, he lost the whole of his own. Louis the XVIth could not with impunity countenance a new republick: yet between his throne and that dangerous lodgment for an enemy, which he had erected, he had the whole Atlantick for a ditch. He had for an out-work the English nation itself, friendly

friendly to liberty, adverse to that mode of it. was furrounded by a rampart of monarchies, most of them allied to him, and generally under his in-Yet even thus fecured, a republick erected under his auspices, and dependent on his power, became fatal to his throne. The very money which he had lent to support this republick, by a good faith, which to him operated as perfidy, was punctually paid to his enemics, and became a refource in the hands of his affaffins.

With this example before their eyes, do any ministers in England, do any ministers in Austria, really flatter themselves, that they can erect, not on the remote shores of the Atlantick, but in their view, in their vicinity, in absolute contact with one of them, not a commercial but a martial republick—a republick not of fimple husbandmen or fishermen, but of intriguers, and of warriorsa republick of a character the most restless, the most enterprising, the most impious, the most sierce and bloody, the most hypocritical and persidious, the most bold and daring that ever has been seen, or indeed that can be conceived to exist, without bringing on their own certain ruin?

Such is the republick to which we are going to give a place in civilifed fellowship: The republick, which with joint confent we are going to establish in the centre of Europe, in a post that overlooks and commands every other state, and which

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which eminently confronts and menaces this kingdom.

You cannot fail to observe, that I speak as if the allied powers were actually confenting, and not compelled by events to the establishment of this faction in France. The words have not escaped me. You will hereafter naturally expect that I should make them good. But whether in adopting this measure we are madly active, or weakly passive, or pusillanimously panick-struck, the effects will be the same. You may call this faction, which has eradicated the monarchy, expelled the proprietary, persecuted religion, and trampled upon law, *-- you may call this France if you please: but of the ancient France nothing remains, but its central geography; its iron frontier; its spirit of ambition; its audacity of enterprise; its perplexing intrigue. These and these alone remain: and they remain heightened in their principle and augmented in their means. All the former correctives, whether of virtue or of weakness, which exifted in the old monarchy, are gone. No fingle new corrective is to be found in the whole body of the new institutions. How should such a thing be found there, when every thing has been chosen with care and felection to forward all those ambitious designs and dispositions, not to control them? The whole

[#] See our declaration.

is a body of ways and means for the supply of dominion, without one heterogeneous particle in it.

Here I fuffer you to breathe, and leave to your meditation what has occurred to me on the genius and character of the French revolution. having this before us, we may be better able to determine on the first question I proposed, that is, how far nations, called foreign, are likely to be affected with the fystem established within that territory. I intended to proceed next on the question of her facilities, from the internal state of other nations, and particularly of this, for obtaining her ends: but I ought to be aware, that my notions are controverted.—I mean, therefore, in my next letter, to take notice of what, in that way, has been recommended to me as the most deserving of notice. In the examination of those pieces, I shall have occasion to discuss some others of the topicks to which I have called your attention. You know, that the letters which I now fend to the press, as well as a part of what is to follow, have been in their fubstance long fince written. A circumstance which your partiality alone could make of importance to you, but which to the publick is of no importance at all, retarded their appearance. The late events which press upon us obliged me to make fome additions; but no fubftantial change in the matter.

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This discussion, my friend, will be long. But the matter is serious; and if ever the sate of the world could be truly said to depend on a particular measure, it is upon this peace. For the present, farewell.

LET-

LETTER III.

ON THE

RUPTURE OF THE NEGOTIATION;

THE

TERMS OF PEACE PROPOSED:

AND THE

RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY

FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF

THE WAR.

1797.

LETTER III.

On the Rupture of the Negotiation; the Terms of Peace proposed; and the Resources of the Country for the Continuance of the War.

DEAR SIR,

THANK you for the bundle of state-papers, which I received yesterday. I have travelled through the negotiation; and a fad, founderous road it is. There is a fort of standing jest against my countrymen, that one of them on his journey having found a piece of pleasant road, he proposed to his companion to go over it again. This propofal, with regard to the worthy traveller's final destination, was certainly a blunder. It was no blunder as to his immediate fatisfaction; for the way was pleafant. In the irksome journey of the regicide negotiations, it is otherwise: our "paths " are not paths of pleasantness, nor our ways the " ways to peace." All our mistakes (if such they are) like those of our Hibernian traveller, are mistakes of repetition; and they will be full as far from bringing us to our place of rest, as his well confidered project was from forwarding him to his inn. inn. Yet I fee we perfevere. Fatigued with our former course; too listless to explore a new one; kept in action by inertness; moving only because we have been in motion; with a fort of plodding perseverance, we resolve to measure back again the very same joyless, hopeless, and inglorious track. Backward and forward; oscillation not progression; much going in a scanty space; the travels of a position, miles enough to circle the globe in one short stage; we have been, and we are yet to be joited and rattled over the loose, misplaced stones, and the treacherous hollows of this rough, ill kept, broken up, treacherous French causeway!

The declaration which brings up the rear of the papers laid before parliament, contains a review and · a reasoned summary of all our attempts, and all our failures; a concife but correct narrative of the painful steps taken to bring on the essay of a treaty at Paris; a clear exposure of all the rebuffs we received in the progress of that experiment; an honest confession of our departure from all the rules and all the principles of political negotiation, and of common prudence, in the conduct of it; and to crown the whole, a fair account of the atrocious manner in which the regicide enemies had broken up what had been fo inauspiciously begun and so feebly carried on, by finally, and with all fcorn driving our suppliant ambassador, out of the limits of their usurpation.

Even

Even after all that I have lately seen, I was a little furprised at this exposure. A minute display of hopes formed without foundation, and of labours purfued without fruit, is a thing not very flattering to felf-estimation. But truth has its rights and it will affert them. The declaration, after doing all this with a mortifying candour, concludes the whole recapitulation with an engagement still more extraordinary than all the unufual matter it con-It fays, " That his majesty, who had en-" tered into this negotiation with good faith, who " has fuffered no impediment to prevent his pro-" fecuting it with carnefiness and fincerity, has now " only to lament its abrupt termination, and to renew " in the face of all Europe the folemn declaration, that "whenever his enemies shall be disposed to enter " upon the work of a general pacification in a spirit " of conciliation and equity, nothing shall be want-" ing on his part to contribute to the accomplish-" ment of that great object."

If the difgusting detail of the accumulated infults we have received, in what we have properly called our "folicitation," to a gang of selons and murderers, had been produced as a proof of the utter inessicacy of that mode of proceeding with that description of persons, I should have nothing at all to object to it. It might furnish matter conclusive in argument, and instructive in policy: but with

with all due submission to high authority, and with all decent deference to superiour lights, it does not feem quite clear to a discernment no better than mine, that the premises in that piece conduct irrefiftibly to the conclusion. A laboured display of the ill consequences which have attended an uniform course of submission to every mode of contumelious infult, with which the despotism of a proud, capricious, infulting and implacable foe has chosen to buffet our patience, does not appear, to my poor thoughts, to be properly brought forth as a preliminary to justify a resolution of persevering in the very same kind of conduct, towards the very fame fort of person, and on the very same principles. We state our experience, and then we come to the manly resolution of acting in contradiction to it. All that has passed at Paris, to the moment of our being shamefully hissed off that stage, has been nothing but a more folemn reprefentation, on the theatre of the nation, of what had been before in rehearfal at Basse. As it is not only confessed by us, but made a matter of charge on the enemy, that he had given us no encouragement to believe there was a change in his disposition or in his policy at any time subsequent to the period of his rejecting our first overtures, there seems to have been no affignable motive for fending Lord Malmesbury to Paris, except to expose his humbled country

country to the worst indignities and the first of the kind, as the declaration very truly observes, that have been known in the world of negotiation.

An honest neighbour of mine is not altogether unhappy in the application of an old common story to a present occasion. It may be said of my friend, what Horace says of a neighbour of his, "garrit" aniles ex re fabellas." Conversing on this strange subject, he told me a current story of a simple English country squire, who was persuaded by certain dilettanti of his acquaintance to see the world, and to become knowing in men and manners.

Among other celebrated places, it was recommended to him to visit Constantinople. He took their advice. After various adventures, not to our purpose to dwell upon, he happily arrived at that famous city. As foon as he had a little reposed himself from his fatigue, he took a walk into the streets: but he had not gone far, before a " malig-" nant and a turban'd Turk" had his choler roused by the careless and assured air, with which this infidel strutted about in the metropolis of true believers. In this temper, he lost no time in doing to our traveller the honours of the place. The Turk croffed over the way, and with perfect goodwill gave him two or three lufty kicks on the feat of honour. To refent, or to return the compliment in Turkey, was quite out of the question. Our traveller, fince he could no otherwife acknowledge

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this kind of favour, received it with the best grace in the world—he made one of his most ceremonious bows, and begged the kicking musfulman, "to ac-"cept his perfect affurances of high confideration." Our countryman was too wife to imitate Othello in the use of the dagger. He thought it better, as better it was, to assuage his bruised dignity with half a yard square of balmy diplomatick diachylon. In the difasters of their friends, people are seldom wanting in a laudable patience. When they are fuch as do not threaten to end fatally, they become even matter of pleafantry. The English fellowtravellers of our fufferer, finding him a little out of spirits, entreated him not to take so slight a business fo very feriously. They told him it was the custom of the country; that every country had its customs; that the Turkish manners were a little rough; but that in the main the Turks were a good-natured people; that what would have been a deadly affront any where elfe, was only a little freedom there; in short, they told him to think no more of the matter, and to try his fortune in another promenade. But the 'fquire, though a little clownish, had some home-bred sense. What! have I come, at all this expence and trouble, all the way to Constantinople only to be kicked? Without going beyond my own stable, my groom, for half a crown, would have kicked me to my heart's content. I don't mean to flay in Constantinople eight and

and forty hours, nor ever to return to this rough, good-natured people, that have their own customs.

In my opinion the squire was in the right. He was satisfied with his first ramble and his first injuries. But reason of state and common-sense are two things. If it were not for this difference, it might not appear of absolute necessity, after having received a certain quantity of buffetings by advance, that we should send a peer of the realm to the scum of the earth, to collect the debt to the last farthing; and to receive, with infinite aggravation, the same scorns which had been paid to our supplication through a commoner: but it was proper, I suppose, that the whole of our country, in all its orders, should have a share of the indignity; and, as in reason, that the higher orders should touch the larger proportion.

This business was not ended, because our dignity was wounded, or because our patience was worn out with contumely and fcorn. We had not disgorged one particle of the nauscous doses with which we were fo liberally crammed by the mountebanks of Paris, in order to drug and diet us into perfect tameness. No; we waited, till the morbid strength of our boulimia for their physick had exhausted the well-stored dispensary of their empiricism. It is impossible to guess at the term to which our forbearance would have extended. The regicides were more fatigued with giving Vol. VIII. T blows

blows than the callous cheek of British diplomacy was hurt in receiving them. They had no way left for getting rid of this mendicant perseverance, but by sending for the beadle, and forcibly driving our embassy of shreds and patches, with all its mumping cant, from the inhospitable door of cannibal castle—

- " Where the gaunt mastiff, growling at the gate,
- " Affrights the beggar whom he longs to eat."

I think we might have found, before the rude hand of infolent office was on our shoulder, and the staff of usurped authority brandished over our heads, that contempt of the fuppliant is not the best forwarder of a fuit; that national difgrace is not the high road to fecurity, much less to power and Patience, indeed, strongly indicates the greatness. love of peace: but mere love does not always lead It is the power of winning that to enjoyment. palm which ensures our wearing it. Virtues have their place; and out of their place they hardly deferve the name. They pass into the neighbouring vice. The patience of fortitude and the endurance of pufillanimity are things very different, as in their principle, so in their effects.

In truth this declaration, containing a narrative of the first transaction of the kind (and I hope it will be the last) in the intercourse of nations, as a composition, is ably drawn. It does credit to our official

official style. The report of the speech of the minister in a great assembly, which I have read, is a comment upon the declaration. Without inquiry how far that report is exact, (inferiour I believe it may be to what it would represent,) yet still it reads as a most eloquent and finished performance. Hardly one galling circumstance of the indignities offered by the directory of regicide, to the supplications made to that junto in his majesty's name, has been spared. Every one of the aggravations attendant on these acts of outrage is, with wonderful perspicuity and order, brought forward in its place, and in the manner most fitted to produce its effect. They are turned to every point of view in which they can be feen to the best advantage. All the parts are so arranged as to point out their relation, and to furnish a true idea of the spirit of the whole transaction.

This speech may stand for a model. Never, for the triumphal decoration of any theatre, not for the decoration of those of Athens and Rome, or even of this theatre of Paris, from the embroideries of Babylon or from the loom of the Gobelins, has there been sent any historick tissue, so truly drawn, so closely and so finely wrought, or in which the forms are brought out in the rich purple of such glowing and blushing colours. It puts me in mind of the piece of tapestry, with which Virgil proposed to adorn the theatre he was to erect to Augustus,

upon the banks of the Mincio, who now hides his head in his reeds, and leads his flow and melancholy windings through banks wasted by the barbarians of Gaul: He supposes that the artistice is such, that the sigures of the conquered nations in his tapestry are made to play their part, and are confounded in the machine:

" Purpurea intexti tollant aulæ Britanni;"

Or as Dryden translates it somewhat paraphrastically, but not less in the spirit of the prophet than of the poet,

Where the proud theatres disclose the scene, Which, interwoven, Britons seem to raise, And shew the triumph which their shame displays.

It is fomething wonderful, that the fagacity shown in the declaration and the speech (and, so far as it goes, greater was never shown) should have failed to discover to the writer and to the speaker, the inseparable relation between the parties to this transaction; and that nothing can be said to display the imperious arrogance of a base enemy, which does not describe with equal force and equal truth the contemptible sigure of an abject embassy to that imperious power.

It is no less striking, that the same obvious re-

fleton should not occur to those gentlemen who conducted the opposition to government. their thoughts were turned another way. They feem to have been fo entirely occupied with the defence of the French directory, so very eager in finding recriminatory precedents to justify every act of its intolerable insolence, so animated in their accusations of ministry for not having, at the very outset, made concessions proportioned to the dignity of the great victorious power we had offended. that every thing concerning the facrifice in this business of national honour, and of the most fundamental principles in the policy of negotiation, feemed wholly to have escaped them. To this fatal hour, the contention in parliament appeared in another form, and was animated by another spirit. For three hundred years and more, we have had wars with what stood as government in France. In all that period the language of ministers, whether of boast or of apology, was, that they had left nothing undone for the affertion of the national honour; the opposition, whether patriotically or factiously, contending, that the ministers had been oblivious of the national glory, and had made improper facrifices of that publick interest, which they were bound not only to preserve, but by all fair methods to augment. This total change of tone on both fides of your house, forms itself no inconfiderable revolution; and I am afraid it prognosticates T 3

nosticates others of still greater importance. The ministers exhausted the stores of their eloquence in demonstrating, that they had quitted the fafe, beaten high-way of treaty between independent powers; that to pacify the enemy they had made every facrifice of the national dignity; and that they had offered to immolate at the same shrine the most valuable of the national acquisitions. The opposition insisted, that the victims were not fat nor fair enough to be offered on the altars of blafphemed regicide; and it was inferred from thence, that the facrifical ministers, (who were a fort of intruders in the worship of the new divinity) in their schismatical devotion had discovered more of hypocrify than zeal. They charged them with a concealed resolution to persevere in what these gentlemen have (in perfect confistency, indeed, with themselves, but most irreconcileably with fact and reason) called an unjust and impolitick war.

That day was, I fear, the fatal term of local patriotism. On that day, I fear, there was an end of that narrow scheme of relations called our country, with all its pride, its prejudices, and its partial affections. All the little quiet rivulets, that watered an humble, a contracted, but not an unfruitful field, are to be lost in the waste expanse, and boundless, barren ocean of the homicide philanthropy of France. It is no longer an object of terrour, the aggrandizement of a new power, which teaches as a professor

a professor that philanthropy in the chair; whilst It propagates by arms, and establishes by conquest, the comprehensive system of universal fraternity. In what light is all this viewed in a great affembly? The party which takes the lead there has no longer any apprehensions, except those that arise from not being admitted to the closest and most confidential connexions with the metropolis of that fraternity. That reigning party no longer touches on its favourite subject, the display of those horrours, that must attend the existence of a power, with fuch dispositions and principles, feated in the heart of Europe. It is fatisfied to find some loofe, ambiguous expressions in its former declarations, which may fet it free from its professions and engagements. It always speaks of peace with the regicides as a great and an undoubted bleffing; and fuch a blefling as, if obtained, promifes, as much as any human disposition of things can promise, fecurity and permanence. It holds out nothing at all definite towards this fecurity. It only feeks, by a reftoration, to some of their former owners, of some fragments of the general wreck of Europe, to find a plaufible plea for a present retreat from an embarrassing position. As to the future, that party is content to leave it, covered in a night of the most palpable obscurity. It never once has entered into a particle of detail of what our own fituation, or that of other powers must be, under T 4 the

the blessings of the peace we seek. This defect, to my power, I mean to supply; that if any perfons should still continue to think an attempt at foresight is any part of the duty of a statesman, I may contribute my trisle to the materials of his speculation.

As to the other party, the minority of to-day, poslibly the majority of to-morrow, small in number but full of talents and every species of energy, which, upon the avowed ground of being more acceptable to France, is a candidate for the helm of this kingdom, it has never changed from the beginning. It has preferved a perennial confistency. This would be a never-failing fource of true glory, if fpringing from just and right; but it is truly dreadful if it be an arm of Styx, which springs out of the profoundest depths of a poisoned foil. The French maxims were by these gentlemen at no time condemned. I speak of their language in the most moderate terms. There are many who think that they have gone much further; that they have always magnified and extolled the French maxims; that not in the least difgusted or discouraged by the monstrous evils, which have attended these maxims from the moment of their adoption, both at home and abroad, they still continue to predict, that in due time they must produce the greatest good to the poor human race. They obstinately persist in stating those evils as matter

matter of accident; as things wholly collateral to the fystem.

It is observed, that this party has never spoken of an ally of Great Britain with the smallest degree of respect or regard; on the contrary, it has generally mentioned them under opprobrious appellations, and in fuch terms of contempt or execration, as never had been heard before, because no fuch would have formerly been permitted in our publick affemblies. The moment, however, that any of those allies quitted this obnoxious connexion, the party has instantly passed an act of indemnity and oblivion in their favour. After this, no fort of censure on their conduct; no imputation on their character! From that moment their pardon was fealed in a reverential and mysterious silence. With the gentlemen of this minority, there is no ally, from one end of Europe to the other, with whom we ought not to be ashamed to act. The whole college of the states of Europe is no better than a gang of tyrants. With them all our connexions were broken off at once. We ought to have cultivated France, and France alone, from the moment of her revolution. On that happy change, all our dread of that nation as a power was to ceafe. She became in an instant dear to our affections, and one with our interests. All other nations we ought to have commanded not to trouble her facred throes, whilst in labour to bring into an happy birth

birth her abundant litter of constitutions. We ought to have acted under her auspices, in extending her falutary influence upon every fide. From that moment England and France were become natural allies, and all the other states natural enemies. The whole face of the world was changed. What was it to us if the acquired Holland and the Auftrian Netherlands? By her conquests she only enlarged the sphere of her beneficence; she only extended the bleffings of liberty to fo many more foolishly reluctant nations. What was it to England, if by adding these, among the richest and most peopled countries of the world to her territories, she thereby left no possible link of communication between us and any other power with whom we could act against her? On this new system of optimism, it is so much the better;—so much the further are we removed from the contact with infectious despotism. No longer a thought of a barrier in the Netherlands to Holland against France. All that is obfolete policy. It is fit that France should have both Holland and the Austrian Netherlands too, as a barrier to her against the attacks of · despotism. She cannot multiply her securities too much; and as to our fecurity, it is to be found in her's. Had we cherished her from the beginning, and felt for her when attacked, she, poor good foul, would never have invaded any foreign nation; never murdered her fovereign and his family; never profcribed,

scribed, never exiled, never imprisoned, never been guilty of extrajudicial maffacre, or of legal murder. All would have been a golden age, full of peace, order, and liberty! and philosophy, raying out from Europe, would have warmed and enlightened the universe: but unluckily, irritable philosophy, the most irritable of all things, was put into a passion, and provoked into ambition abroad and tyranny at home. They find all this very natural and very justifiable. They chuse to forget, that other nations struggling for freedom, have been attacked by their neighbours; or that their neighbours have otherwise interfered in their affairs. Often have neighbours interfered in favour of princes against their rebellious subjects; and often in favour of subjects against their prince. Such cases fill half the pages of history, yet never were they used as an apology, much less as a justification, for atrocious cruelty in princés, or for general massacre and confiscation on the part of revolted subjects; never as a politick cause for suffering any such powers to aggrandize themselves without limit and without measure. A thousand times have we seen it asferted in publick prints and pamphlets, that if the nobility and priesthood of France had staid at home, their property never would have been confiscated. One would think that none of the clergy had been robbed previous to their deportation, or that their deportation had, on their part, been a voluntary act. One would think that the nobility

bility and gentry, and merchants and bankers, who staid at home, had enjoyed their property in security and repose. The affertors of these pofitions well know, that the lot of thousands who remained at home was far more terrible: that the most cruel imprisonment was only a harbinger of a cruel and ignominious death; and that in this mother country of freedom, there were no less than Three Hundred Thousand at one time in prison. go no further. I instance only these representations of the party as staring indications of partiality to that fect, to whose dominion they would have left this country nothing to oppose but her own naked force, and consequently subjected us, on every reverse of fortune, to the imminent danger of falling under those very evils in that very system, which are attributed, not to its own nature, but to the perverieness of others. There is nothing in the world fo difficult as to put men in a state of judicial neutrality. A leaning there must ever be, and it is of the first importance to any nation to observe to what side that leaning inclines—whether to our own community, or to one with which it is in a state of hostility.

Men are rarely without some sympathy in the sufferings of others; but in the immense and diversissed mass of human misery, which may be pitied, but cannot be relieved, in the gross, the mind must make a choice. Our sympathy is always more forcibly attracted towards the missortunes of certain persons,

persons, and in certain descriptions: and this sympathetick attraction discovers, beyond a possibility of mistake, our mental assinities, and elective affec-It is a much furer proof, than the strongest declaration, of a real connexion and of an overruling bias in the mind. I am told that the active fympathies of this party have been chiefly, if not wholly, attracted to the fufferings of the patriarchal rebels, who were amongst the promulgators of the maxims of the French revolution, and who have fuffered, from their apt and forward scholars, some part of the evils, which they had themselves so liberally distributed to all the other parts of the community. Some of these men, flying from the knives which they had sharpened against their country and its laws, rebelling against the very powers they had fet over themselves by their rebellion against their sovereign, given up by those very armies to whose faithful attachment they trusted for their fafety and support, after they had completely debauched all military fidelity in its fource; fome of these men, I say, had fallen into the hands of the head of that family, the most illustrious person of which they had three times cruelly imprisoned, and delivered in that state of captivity to those hands, from which they were able to relieve, neither her, nor their own nearest and most venerable kindred. One of these men, connected with this country by no circumstance of birth; not related

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to any distinguished families here; recommended by no service; endeared to this nation by no act or even expression of kindness; comprehended in no league or common cause; embraced by no laws of publick hospitality; this man was the only one to be found in Europe, in whose favour the British nation, passing judgment, without hearing, on its almost only ally, was to force, (and that not by foothing interpolition, but with every reproach for inhumanity, cruelty, and breach of the laws of war,) from prison. We were to release him from that prison out of which, in abuse of the lenity of government amidst its rigour, and in violation of at least an understood parole, he had attempted an escape; an escape excuseable if you will, but naturally productive of strict and vigilant confinement. The earnestness of gentlemen to free this person was the more extraordinary, because there was full as little in him to raise admiration, from any eminent qualities he possessed, as there was to excite an interest, from any that were amiable. person, not only of no real civil or literary talents, but of no specious appearance of either; and in his military profession, not marked as a leader in any one act of able or fuccessful enterprise-unless his leading on (or his following) the allied army of Amazonian and male cannibal Parisians to Verfailles, on the famous fifth of October, 1789, is to make his glory. Any other exploit of his, as a general

neral, I never heard of. But the triumph of general fraternity, was but the more fignalized by the total want of particular claims, in that case; and by postponing all such claims, in a case where they really existed, where they stood embossed, and in a manner forced themselves on the view of common short-sighted benevolence. Whilst, for its improvement, the humanity of those gentlemen was thus on its travels, and had got as far off as Olmutz, they never thought of a place and a person much nearer to them, or of moving an instruction to Lord Malmesbury in favour of their own suffering countryman, Sir Sydney Smith.

This officer, having attempted, with great gallantry, to cut out a veilel from one of the enemy's harbours, was taken after an obstinate resistance: fuch as obtained him the marked respect of those who were witnesses of his valour, and knew the circumstances in which it was displayed. Upon his arrival at Paris, he was instantly thrown into prison; where the nature of his situation will best be understood, by knowing, that amongst its mitigations, was the permission to walk occasionally in the court, and to enjoy the privilege of shaving himself. On the old system of feelings and principles, his fufferings might have been entitled to confideration, and even in a comparison with those of citizen la Fayette, to a priority in the order of compassion. If the ministers had neglected to take

take any steps in his favour, a declaration of the fense of the house of commons would have stimulated them to their duty. If they had caused a representation to be made, such a proceeding would have added force to it. If reprifal should be thought adviseable, the address of the house would have given an additional fanction to a meafure which would have been, indeed, justifiable without any other fanction than its own reason. But no. Nothing at all like it. In fact, the merit of Sir Sydney Smith, and his claim on British compassion, was of a kind altogether different from that which interested so deeply the authors of the motion in favour of citizen la Fayette. humble opinion, Captain Sir Sydney Smith has another fort of merit with the British nation, and something of a higher claim on British humanity than citizen la Fayette. Faithful, zealous, and ardent in the service of his king and country; full of spirit; full of resources; going out of the beaten road, but going right, because his uncommon enterprise was not conducted by a vulgar judgment; -in his profession, Sir Sydney Smith might be confidered as a distinguished person, if any person could well be diftinguished in a service in which scarce a commander can be named without putting you in mind of some action of intrepidity, skill, and vigilance, that has given them a fair title to contend with any men and in any age. But I will

will fay nothing farther of the merits of Sir Sydney Smith: the mortal animofity of the regicide enemy fuperfedes all other panegyrick. Their hatred is a judgment in his favour without appeal. At prefent he is lodged in the tower of the Temple, the last prison of Louis the Sixteenth, and the last but one of Maria Antonietta of Austria; the prison of Louis the Seventeenth; the prison of Elizabeth of Bourbon. There he lies, unpitied by the grand philanthropy, to meditate upon the fate of those who are faithful to their king and country. Whilst this prisoner, secluded from intercourse, was indulging in these cheering reflections, he might possibly have had the further consolation of learning (by means of the infolent exultation of his guards) that there was an English ambassador at Paris; he might have had the proud comfort of hearing, that this ambassador had the honour of passing his mornings in respectful attendance at the office of a regicide pettifogger; and that in the evening he relaxed in the amusements of the opera, and in the spectacle of an audience totally new; an audience in which he had the pleasure of seeing about him not a single face that he could formerly have known in Paris; but in the place of that company, one indeed more than equal to it in display of gaiety, splendour and luxury; a set of abandoned wretches, squandering in inso-Vol. VIII.

lent riot the spoils of their bleeding country. A subject of profound reflection both to the prisoner and to the ambassador.

. Whether all the matter upon which I have grounded my opinion of this last party be fully authenticated or not, must be left to those who have had the opportunity of a nearer view of its conduct, and who have been more attentive in ' their perusal of the writings, which have appeared in its favour. But for my part, I have never heard the gross facts on which I ground my idea of their marked partiality to the reigning tyranny in France, in any part, denied. I am not furprised at all this. Opinions, as they sometimes follow, so they frequently guide and direct the affections; and men may become more attached to the country of their principles, than to the country of their birth. What I have stated here is only to mark the spirit which seems to me, though in somewhat different ways, to actuate our great party-leaders; and to trace this first pattern of a negotiation to its true fource.

Such is the present state of our publick councils. Well might I be ashamed of what seems to be a censure of two great sactions, with the two most eloquent men, which this country ever saw, at the head of them, if I had sound that either of them could support their conduct by any example in the history of their country. I should very much preser their

their judgment to my own, if I were not obliged, by an infinitely overbalancing weight of authority, to prefer the collected wisdom of ages to the abilities of any two men living. I return to the declaration, with which the history of the abortion of a treaty with the regicides is closed.

After fuch an elaborate display had been made of the injustice and infolence of an enemy, who, feems to have been irritated by every one of the means, which had been commonly used with effect to foothe the rage of intemperate power, the natural refult would be, that the scabbard, in which we in vain attempted to plunge our fword, should have been thrown away with fcorn. It would have been natural, that, rifing in the fulness of their might, infulted majesty, despised dignity, violated justice, rejected supplication, patience goaded into fury, would have poured out all the length of the reins upon all the wrath which they had fo long restrained. It might have been expected, that emulous of the glory of the youthful hero* in alliance with him, touched by the example of what one man, well formed and well placed, may do in the most desperate state of affairs, convinced there is a courage of the cabinet full as powerful, and far less vulgar than that of the field, our minister would have changed the whole line of that un-

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prosperous

[·] The Archduke Charles of Austria.

prosperous prudence, which hitherto had produced all the effects of the blindest temerity. If he found his fituation full of danger, (and I do not deny that it is perilous in the extreme) he must feel that it is also full of glory; and that he is placed on a stage, than which no muse of fire that had ascended the highest heaven of invention, could imagine any thing more awful and august. It was hoped, that in this swelling scene, in which he moved with some of the first potentates of Europe for his fellow actors, and with so many of the rest for the anxious spectators of a part, which, as he plays it, determines for ever their destiny and his own, like Ulysses, in the unravelling point of the epick story, he would have thrown off his patience and his rags together; and stripped of unworthy disguises, he would have stood forth in the form, and in the attitude of an hero. On that day, it was thought he would have assumed the port of Mars; that he would bid to be brought forth from their hideous kennel (where his fcrupulous tenderness had too long immured them) those impatient dogs of war, whose sierce regards affright even the minister of vengeance that feeds them; that he would let them loofe, in famine, fever, plagues, and death, upon a guilty -race, to whose frame, and to all whose habit, order, peace, religion, and virtue, are alien and abhorrent. It was expected that he would at last have thought of

of active and effectual war; that he would no longer amuse the British lion in the chace of mice and rats; that he would no longer employ the whole naval power of Great Britain, once the terrour of the world, to prey upon the miferable remains of a peddling commerce, which the enemy did not regard, and from which none could profit. It was expected that he would have re-afferted the justice of his cause; that he would have re-animated whatever remained to him of his allies, and endeavoured to recover those whom their fears had led aftray: that he would have re-kindled the martial ardour of his citizens; that he would have held out to them the example of their ancestry, the affertor of Europe, and the scourge of French ambition; that he would have reminded them of a posterity, which if this nefarious robbery, under the fraudulent name and false colour of a government, should in full power be seated in the heart of Europe, must for ever be configned to vice, impiety, barbarism, and the most ignominious slavery of body and mind. In fo holy a cause it was prefumed, that he would (as in the beginning of the war he did) have opened all the temples; and with prayer, with fafting, and with fupplication (better directed than to the grim Moloch of regicide in France), have called upon us to raise that united cry, which has so often stormed Heaven, and with a pious violence forced down blessings upon a repentant U3

pentant people. It was hoped that when he had invoked upon his endeavours the favourable regard of the Protector of the human race, it would be feen that his menaces to the enemy, and his prayers to the Almighty, were, not followed, but accompanied, with correspondent action. It was hoped that his shrilling trumpet should be heard, not to announce a shew, but to sound a charge.

Such a conclusion to such a declaration and such a speech, would have been a thing of course; so much a thing of course, that I will be bold to fay, if in any ancient history, the Roman for instance, (supposing that in Rome the matter of such a detail could have been furnished) a conful had gone through fuch a long train of proceedings, and that there was a chasm in the manuscripts by which we had loft the conclusion of the speech and the subsequent part of the narrative, all criticks would agree, that a Frein/hemius would have been thought to have managed the fupplementary bufinels of a continuator most unskilfully, and to have fupplied the hiatus most improbably, if he had not filled up the gaping space, in a manner fomewhat fimilar (though better executed) to what I have imagined. But too often different is rational conjecture from melancholy fact. exordium, as contrary to all the rules of rhetorick, as to those more essential rules of policy which our fituation would dictate, is intended as a prelude to a deadening

a deadening and disheartening proposition; as if all that a minister had to fear in a war of his own conducting, was, that the people should pursue it with too ardent a zeal. Such a tone, as I guessed the minister would have taken. I am very sure, is the true, unfuborned, unfophisticated language of genuine natural feeling under the smart of patience exhausted and abused. Such a conduct as the facts stated in the declaration gave room to expect, is that which true wisdom would have dictated under the impression of those genuine feelings. Never was there a jar or discord, between genuine fentiment and found policy. Never, no, never did nature fay one thing and wisdom fay another. Nor are fentiments of elevation in themselves turgid and unnatural. Nature is never more truly herself, than in her grandest forms. The Apollo of Belvedere (if the universal robber has yet left him at Belvedere) is as much in nature, as any figure from the pencil of Rembrandt, or any clown in the rustick revels of Teniers. Indeed it is when a great nation is in great difficulties, that minds must exalt themselves to the occasion, or all is lost. Strong passion under the direction of a feeble reafon feeds a low fever, which ferves only to destroy the body that entertains it. But vehement passic n does not always indicate an infirm judgment. It often accompanies, and actuates, and is even auxiliary to a powerful understanding; and when they U₄ both

both conspire and act harmoniously, their force is great to destroy disorder within, and to repel injury from abroad. If ever there was a time that calls on us for no vulgar conception of things, and for exertions in no vulgar strain, it is the awful hour that Providence has now appointed to this nation. Every little measure is a great errour; and every great errour will bring on no small ruin. Nothing can be directed above the mark that we must aim at: Every thing below it is absolutely thrown away.

Except with the addition of the unheard-of infult offered to our ambaffador by his rude expulfion, we are never to forget that the point on which the negotiation with De la Croix broke off, was exactly that which had stifled in its cradle the negotiation we had attempted with Barthélémy. Each of these transactions, concluded with a manifesto upon our part: but the last of our manifestoes very materially differed from the first. The first declaration stated, that "nothing was left but " to profecute a war equally just and necessary." In the fecond, the justice and necessity of the war is dropped; the fentence importing that nothing was left but the profecution of fuch a war, disappears also. Instead of this resolution to prosecute the war, we fink into a whining lamentation on the abrupt termination of the treaty. nothing left but the last resource of semale weak-

ness,

nefs, of helpless infancy, of doting decrepitude,wailing and lamentation. We cannot even utter a fentiment of vigour-" his majesty has only to " lament." A poor possession, to be left to a great monarch! Mark the effect produced on our councils by continued insolence, and inveterate hostility! We grow more malleable under their blows. In reverential filence, we fmother the cause and origin of the war. On that fundamental article of faith, we leave every one to abound in his own fense. In the minister's speech, glossing on the declaration, it is indeed mentioned; but very feebly. The lines are fo faintly drawn as hardly to be traced. They only make a part of our confolation in the circumstances which we so dolefully lament. We rest our merits on the humility, the earnestness of solicitation, and the perfect good faith of those submissions, which have been used to perfuade our regicide enemies to grant us some fort of peace. Not a word is faid, which might not have been full as well faid, and much better too, if the British nation had appeared in the simple character of a penitent convinced of his errours and offences, and offering, by penances, by pilgrimages, and by all the modes of expiation ever devifed by anxious, restless guilt, to make all the atonement in his miferable power:

The declaration ends as I have before quoted it, with a folemn voluntary pledge, the most full and the most solemn that ever was given, of our resolution

lution (if so it may be called) to enter again into the very same course. It requires nothing more of the regicides, than to furnish some fort of excuse, some fort of colourable pretext, for our renewing the supplications of innocence at the feet of guilt. It leaves the moment of negotiation, a most important moment, to the choice of the enemy. He is to regulate it according to the convenience of his He is to bring it forward at that time when it may best serve to establish his authority at home, and to extend his power abroad. A dangerous assurance for this nation to give, whether it is broken or whether it is kept. As all treaty was broken off, and broken off in the manner we have seen, the field of future conduct ought to be reserved free and unincumbered to our future discretion. As to the fort of condition prefixed to the pledge, namely, "that the enemy should be "disposed to enter into the work of general paci-"fication with the spirit of reconciliation and " equity," this phraseology cannot possibly be confidered otherwise, than as so many words thrown in to fill the fentence, and to round it to the ear. We prefixed the same plausible conditions to any renewal of the negotiation, in our manifesto on the rejection of our proposals at Basle. We did not confider those conditions as binding. We opened a much more ferious negotiation without any fort of regard to them; and there is no new negotiation, which we can possibly open upon fewer indications

cations of conciliation and equity, than were to be discovered, when we entered into our last at Paris. Any of the slightest pretences, any of the most loose, formal, equivocating expressions, would justify us under the peroration of this piece, in again sending the last, or some other Lord Malmesbury to Paris.

I hope I misunderstand this pledge; or that we shall shew no more regard to it, than we have done to all the faith, that we have plighted to vigour and resolution, in our former declaration. If I am to understand the conclusion of the declaration to be what unfortunately it feems to me, we make an engagement with the enemy, without any correfpondent engagement on his side. We seem to have cut ourselves off from any benefit which an intermediate state of things might furnish to enable us totally to overturn that power, so little connected with moderation and justice. ing out no hope, either to the justly discontented in France, or to any foreign power, and leaving the re-commencement of all treaty to this identical junto of affassins, we do in effect assure and guarantee to them, the full possession of the rich fruits of their confiscations, of their murders of men, women, and children, and of all the multiplied, endless, nameless iniquities by which they have obtained their power. We guarantee to them the possession of a country, such and so situated as France, France, round, entire, immensely perhaps aug-

Well! fome will fay, in this case we have only submitted to the nature of things. The nature of things is, I admit, a sturdy adversary. This might be alleged as a plea for our attempt at a treaty. But what plea of that kind can be alleged, after the treaty was dead and gone, in favour of this posthumous declaration? No necessity has driven us to that pledge. It is without a counterpart even in expectation. And what can be stated to obviate the evil which that folitary engagement must produce on the understanding or the fears of men? I ask, what have the regicides promised you in return, in case you should shew what they would call dispositions to conciliation and equity, whilst you are giving that pledge from the throne, and engaging parliament to counter-secure it? It is an awful consideration. It was on the very day of the date of this wonderful pledge*, in which we assumed the directorial government as lawful, and in which we engaged ourselves to treat with them whenever they pleased; it was on that very day, the regicide fleet was weighing anchor from one of your harbours, where it had remained four days in perfect quiet. These harbours of the British dominions are the ports of France. They are of no use but to

* Dec. 27, 1796.

protect

protect an enemy from our best allies, the storms of Heaven, and his own raffiness. Had the West of Ireland been an unportuous coast, the French naval power would have been undone. The enemy uses the moment for hostility, without the least regard to your future disposition of equity and con-They go out of what were once your ciliation. harbours, and they return to them at their pleafure. Eleven days they had the full use of Bantry Bay, and at length their fleet returns from their harbour of Bantry to their harbour of Brest. Whilst you are invoking the propitious spirit of regicide equity and conciliation, they answer you with an -attack. They turn out the pacifick bearer of your "how do you does," Lord Malmesbury; and they return your visit, and their "thanks for your obliging inquiries," by their old practifed They come to attack-What? affassin Hoche. A town, a fort, a naval station? They come to attack your king, your constitution, and the very being of that parliament, which was holding out to them these pledges, together with the entireness of the empire, the laws, liberties, and properties of all the people. We know that they meditated the very fame invasion, and for the very fame purposes, upon this kingdom; and had the coast been as opportune, would have effected it.

Whilst you are in vain torturing your invention to assure them of your sincerity and good faith, they

have left no doubt concerning their good faith, and their fincerity towards those to whom they have engaged their honour. To their power they have been true to the only pledge they have ever vet given to you, or to any of yours, I mean the folemn engagement which they entered into with the deputation of traitors who appeared at their bar, from England and from Ireland, in 1792. They have been true and faithful to the engagement which they had made more largely; that is, their engagement to give effectual aid to infurrection and treason, wherever they might appear in the world. We have feen the British declaration. This is the counter-declaration of the directory. This is the reciprocal pledge which regicide amity gives to the conciliatory pledges of kings! But, thank God, fuch pledges cannot exist single. They have no counterpart; and if they had, the enemy's conduct cancels fuch declarations; and I trust, along with them, cancels every thing of mischief and dishonour that they contain.

There is one thing in this business which appears to be wholly unaccountable, or accountable, on a supposition I dare not entertain for a moment. I cannot help asking, Why all this pains, to clear the British nation of ambition, persidy, and the insatiate thirst of war? At what period of time was it that our country has deserved that load of infamy, of which nothing but preternatural humiliation in language

language and conduct can serve to clear us? If we have deserved this kind of evil fame from any thing we have done in a state of prosperity, I am fure that it is not an abject conduct in adversity that can clear our reputation. Well is it known that ambition can creep as well as foar. The pride of no person in a flourishing condition is more justly to be dreaded than that of him who is mean and cringing under a doubtful and unprosperous fortune. But it seems it was thought necessary to give some out-of-the-way proofs of our fincerity, as well as of our freedom from ambition. Is then fraud and falsehood become the distinctive character of Englishmen? Whenever your enemy chooses to accuse you of perfidy and ill faith, will you put it into his power to throw you into the purgatory of felf-humiliation? Is his charge equal to the finding of the grand jury of Europe, and fufficient to put you upon your trial? But on that trial I will defend the English ministry. I am forry that on some points I have, on the principles I have always opposed, so good a defence to make. They were not the first to begin the war. They did not excite the general confederacy in Europe, which was so properly formed on the alarm given by the jacobinism of France. They did not begin with an hostile aggression on the regicides or any of their allies. These parricides of their own country, difciplining themselves for foreign by domestick violence. lence, were the first to attack a power that was our ally, by nature, by habit, and by the sanction of multiplied treaties. Is it not true, that they were the first to declare war upon this kingdom? Is every word in the declaration from Downing-street, concerning their conduct, and concerning ours and that of our allies, so obviously false, that it is necessary to give some new invented proofs of our good faith in order to expunge the memory of all this persidy?

We know that over-labouring a point of this kind, has the direct contrary effect from what we wish. We know that there is a legal presumption against men quando se nimis purgitant; and if a charge of ambition is not refuted by an affected humility, certainly the character of fraud and perfidy is still less to be washed away by indications of meanness. Fraud and prevarication are fervile vices. They fometimes grow out of the necessities, always out of the habits of flavish and degenerate spirits: and on the theatre of the world, it is not by affuming the mask of a Davus or a Geta that an actor will obtain credit for manly simplicity and a liberal openness of proceeding. It is an erect countenance; it is a firm adherence to principle; it is a power of relifting falle shame and frivolous fear, that affert our good faith and honour, and affure to us the confidence of mankind. Therefore all these negotiations, and all the declarations with which they

they were preceded and followed, can only serve to raise presumptions against that good faith and publick integrity, the same of which to preserve inviolate is so much the interest and duty of every nation.

The pledge is an engagement "to all Europe." This is the more extraordinary, because it is a pledge, which no power in Europe, whom I have yet heard of, has thought proper to require at our hands. I am not in the fecrets of office; and therefore I may be excused for proceeding upon probabilities and exterior indications. I have furveyed all Europe from the east to the west, from the north to the fouth, in fearch of this call upon us to purge ourselves of "fubtle duplicity and a punick style" in our proceedings. I have not heard that his excellency the Ottoman ambassador has expressed his doubts of the British sincerity in our negotiation with the most unchristian republick lately fet up at our door. What fympathy, in that quarter, may have introduced a remonstrance upon the want of faith in this nation, I cannot positively fay. If it exists, it is in Turkish or Arabick, and possibly is not yet translated. But none of the nations which compose the old Christian world have I yet heard as calling upon us for those judicial purgations and ordeals, by fire and water, which we have chosen to go through; -for the other great proof, by battle, we feem to decline.

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X

For

For whose use, entertainment, or instruction, are all those overstrained and over-laboured proceedings in council, in negotiation, and in speeches in parliament, intended? What royal cabinet is to be enriched with these high-finished pictures of the arrogance of the fworn enemies of kings, and the meek patience of a British administration? In what heart is it intended to kindle pity towards our multiplied mortifications and difgraces? At best it is superfluous. What nation is unacquainted with the haughty disposition of the common enemy of all nations? It has been more than feen, it has been felt; not only by those who have been the victims of their imperious rapacity, but, in a degree, by those very powers who have consented to establish this robbery, that they might be able to copy it, with the impunity to make new usurpations of their own. The king of Prussia has hypothecated in trust to the regicides his rich and fertile territories on the Rhine, as a pledge of his zeal and affection to the cause of liberty and equality. has feen them robbed with unbounded liberty, and with the most levelling equality. The woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; property is confiscated; and the people are put to bear a double yoke, in the exactions of a tyrannical government and in the contributions of an hostile irruption. Is it to fatisfy the court of Berlin, that the court of London is to give the fame fort of pledge of its fincerity

fincerity and good faith to the French directory? It is not that heart full of fensibility,—it is not Lucchesini, the minister of his Prussian Majesty, the late ally of England, and the present ally of its enemy, who has demanded this pledge of our sincerity, as the price of renewal of the long lease of his sincere friendship to this kingdom.

It is not to our enemy, the now faithful ally of regicide, late the faithful ally of Great Britain, the Catholick king, that we address our doleful lamentation: it is not to the *Prince of Peace*, whose declaration of war was one of the first auspicious omens of general tranquillity, which our dove-like ambassador, with the olive-branch in his beak, was faluted with at his entrance into the ark of clean birds at Paris.

Surely it is not to the Tetrarch of Sardinia, now the faithful ally of a power who has feized upon all his fortreffes, and confiscated the oldest dominions of his house; it is not to this once powerful, once respected, and once cherished ally of Great Britain, that we mean to prove the sincerity of the peace which we offered to make at his expence. Or is it to him we are to prove the arrogance of the power who, under the name of friend, oppresses him, and the poor remains of his subjects, with all the serocity of the most cruel enemy?

It is not to Holland, under the name of an ally, laid under a permanent military contribution, filled X 2 with

with their double garrison of barbarous jacobin troops, and ten times more barbarous jacobin clubs and affemblies, that we find ourselves obliged to give this pledge.

Is it to Genoa, that we make this kind promise; a state which the regicides were to defend in a favourable neutrality, but whose neutrality has been, by the gentle influence of jacobin authority, forced into the trammels of an alliance; whose alliance has been secured by the admission of French garrisons; and whose peace has been for ever ratisfied by a forced declaration of war against ourselves?

It is not the grand duke of Tuscany who claims this declaration; not the grand duke, who for his early fincerity, for his love of peace, and for his entire confidence in the amity of the affassins of his house, has been complimented in the British parliament with the name of "the wifest sovereign in " Europe:"-It is not this pacifick Solomon, or his philosophick cudgelled ministry, cudgelled by English and by French, whose wisdom and philosophy between them, have placed Leghorn in the hands of the enemy of the Austrian family, and driven the only profitable commerce of Tuscany from its only port. It is not this fovereign, a far more able statesman than any of the Medici in whose chair he fits: it is not the philosopher Carletti, more ably fpeculative than Galileo, more profoundly politick than Machiavel, that call upon us fo loudly to give

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the same happy proofs of the same good faith to the republick, always the same, always one and indivisible.

It is not Venice, whose principal cities the enemy has appropriated to himself, and scornfully desired the state to indemnify itself from the emperour, that we wish to convince of the pride and the despotism of an enemy, who loads us with his scoffs and buffets.

It is not for his holiness we intend this confolatory declaration of our own weakness, and of the tyrannous temper of his grand enemy. That prince has known both the one and the other from the beginning. The artists of the French revolution, had given their very first essays and sketches of robbery and desolation against his territories, in a far more cruel "murdering piece" than had ever entered into the imagination of painter or poet. Without ceremony they tore from his cherishing arms, the possessions which he held for five hundred years, undisturbed by all the ambition of all the ambitious monarchs who, during that period, have reigned in France. Is it to him, in whose wrong we have in our late negotiation ceded his now unhappy countries near the Rhone, lately amongst the most flourishing (perhaps the most flourishing for their extent) of all the countries upon earth, that we are to prove the fincerity of our resolution to make peace with the republick of barbarism? That X 3 venerable

venerable potentate and pontiff, is funk deep into the vale of years; he is half difarmed by his peaceful character; his dominions are more than half difarmed by a peace of two hundred years, defended as they were, not by force but by reverence; yet in all these straits, we see him display, amidst the recent ruins and the new defacements of his plundered capital, along with the mild and decorated piety of the modern, all the spirit and magnanimity of antient Rome? Does he, who, though himself unable to defend them, nobly refused to receive pecuniary compensations for the protection he owed to his people of Avignon, Carpentras, and the Venaisin; -does he want proofs of our good dispofition to deliver over that people, without any fecurity for them, or any compensation to their sovereign, to this cruel enemy? Does he want to be fatisfied of the fincerity of our humiliation to France, who has feen his free, fertile and happy city and state of Bologna, the cradle of regenerated law, the seat of sciences and of arts, so hideously metamorphofed, whilft he was crying to Great Britain for aid, and offering to purchase that aid at any price? Is it him, who fees that chofen spot of plenty and delight converted into a jacobin ferocious republick, dependent on the homicides of France? Is it him, who, from the miracles of his beneficent industry, has done a work which defied the power of the Roman emperors, though with an enthralled

enthralled world to labour for them; is it him, who has drained and cultivated the Pontine Marsbes, that we are to fatisfy of our cordial spirit of conciliation, with those who, in their equity, are restoring Holland again to the feas, whose maxims poison more than the exhalations of the most deadly fens, and who turn all the fertilities of nature and of art, into an howling defart? Is it to him, that we are to demonstrate the good faith of our submissions to the cannibal republick; to him who is commanded to deliver into their hands Ancona and Civita Vecchia, feats of commerce, raifed by the wife and liberal labours and expences of the prefent and late pontiffs; ports not more belonging to the Ecclesiastical state than to the commerce of Great Britain; thus wrefting from his hands the power of the keys of the centre of Italy, as before they had taken possession of the keys of the northern part, from the hands of the unhappy king of Sardinia, the natural ally of England? Is it to him we are to prove our good faith in the peace which we are foliciting to receive from the hands of his and our robbers, the enemies of all arts, all sciences, all civilization, and all commerce?

Is it to the Cifpadane or to the Transpadane republicks, which have been forced to bow under the galling yoke of French liberty, that we address all these pledges of our sincerity and love of peace with their unnatural parents?

X 4

Are

Are we by this declaration to fatisfy the king of Naples whom we have left to struggle as he can, after our abdication of Corfica, and the flight of the whole naval force of England out of the whole ' circuit of the Mediterranean, abandoning our allies, our commerce, and the honour of a nation, once the protectress of all other nations, because strengthened by the independence, and enriched by the commerce of them all? By the express provisions of a recent treaty, we had engaged with the king of Naples to keep a naval force in the Mediterranean. But, good God! was a treaty at all neceffary for this? The uniform policy of this kingdom as a state, and eminently so as a commercial ftate, has at all times led us to keep a powerful squadron and a commodious naval station in that central fea, which borders upon, and which connects, a far greater number and variety of states, European, Afiatick, and African, than any other. Without fuch a naval force France must become despotick mistress of that sea, and of all the countries whose shores it washes. Our commerce must become vaffal on her and dependent on her will. Since we are come no longer to trust to our force in arms, but to our dexterity in negotiation, and begin to pay a desperate court to a proud and coy usurpation, and have finally fent an ambassador to the Bourbon regicides at Paris; the king of Naples, who faw, that no reliance was to be placed on our engageengagements, or on any pledge of our adherence to our nearest and dearest interests, has been obliged to send his ambassador also to join the rest of the squalid tribe of the representatives of degraded kings. This monarch, surely, does not want any proof of the sincerity of our amicable dispositions to that amicable republick, into whose arms he has been given by our desertion of him.

To look to the powers of the north, it is not to the Danish ambassador, insolently treated, in his own character and in ours, that we are to give proofs of the regicide arrogance, and of our disposition to submit to it.

With regard to Sweden, I cannot fay much. The French influence is ftruggling with her independence; and they who consider the manner in which the ambassador of that power was treated not long since at Paris, and the manner in which the father of the present king of Sweden (himself the victim of regicide principles and passions) would have looked on the present assassing of France, will not be very prompt to believe that the young king of Sweden has made this kind of requisition to the king of Great Britain, and has given this kind of auspice of his new government.

I speak last of the most important of all. It certainly was not the last empress of Russia at whose instance we have given this pledge. It is not the new emperour, the inheritor of so much glory, and placed in a situation of so much delicacy, and difficulty culty for the preservation of that inheritance, who calls on England, the natural ally of his dominions, to deprive herself of her power of action, and to bind herself to France. France at no time, and in none of its fashions, least of all in its last, has been ever looked upon as the friend either of Russia or of Great Britain. Everything good, I trust, is to be expected from this prince; whatever may be without authority, given out of an influence over his mind possessed by that only potentate, from whom he has any thing to apprehend, or with whom he has much even to discuss.

This fovereign knows, I have no doubt, and feels, on what fort of bottom is to be laid the foundation of a Russian throne. He knows what a rock of native granite is to form the pedestal of his statue, who is to emulate Peter the Great. His renown will be in continuing with eafe and fafety, what his predecessor was obliged to achieve through mighty struggles. He is sensible, that his business is not to innovate, but to fecure and to establish; that reformations at this day are attempts at best of ambiguous utility. He will revere his father with the piety of a fon; but in his government he will imitate the policy of his mother. His father, with many excellent qualities, had a fhort reign; because, being a native Russian, he was unfortunately advised to act in the spirit of a foreigner. ther reigned over Russia three and thirty years with the greatest glory; because, with the disadvantage

vantage of being a foreigner born, she made herfelf a Russian. A wise prince like the present will improve his country; but it will be cautiously and progressively, upon its own native ground-work of religion, manners, habitudes, and alliances. If I prognosticate right, it is not the emperour of Russia that ever will call for extravagant proofs of our desire to reconcile ourselves to the irreconcileable enemy of all thrones.

I do not know why I should not include America among the European powers, because she is of European origin; and has not yet, like France, destroyed all traces of manners, laws, opinions, and usages which she drew from Europe. As long as that Europe shall have any possessions either in the fouthern or the northern parts of that America, even separated as it is by the ocean, it must be confidered as a part of the European system. It is not America, menaced with internal ruin from the attempts to plant jacobinism instead of liberty in that country; it is not America, whose independence is directly attacked by the French, the enemies of the independence of all nations, that calls upon us to give fecurity by difarming ourselves in a treacherous peace. By fuch a peace, we shall deliver the Americans, their liberty, and their order, without resource, to the mercy of their imperious allies, who will have peace or neutrality with

no state, which is not ready to join her in war against England.

Having run round the whole circle of the European fystem wherever it acts, I must affirm, that all the foreign powers who are not leagued with France for the utter destruction of all balance through Europe and throughout the world, demand other assurances from this kingdom than are given in that declaration. They require affurances, not of the fincerity of our good dispositions towards the usurpation in France, but of our affection towards the college of the ancient states of Europe, and pledges of our constancy, our fidelity, and of our fortitude in relifting to the last the power that menaces them all. The apprehension from which they wish to be delivered cannot be from any thing they dread in the ambition of England. Our power must be their strength. They hope more from us than they fear. I am fure the only ground of their hope, and of our hope, is in the greatness of mind hitherto shewn by the people of this nation, and its adherence to the unalterable principles of its ancient policy, whatever government may finally prevail in France. I have entered into this detail of the wishes and expectations of the European powers, in order to point out more clearly, not so much what their disposition, as (a consideration of far greater importance) what their fituation demands, according

according as that fituation is related to the regicide republick and to this kingdom.

Then if it is not to fatisfy the foreign powers we make this assurance, to what power at home is it that we pay all this humiliating court? Not to the old whigs or to the ancient tories of this kingdom; if any memory of fuch ancient divisions still exists amongst us. To which of the principles of these parties is this affurance agreeable? Is it to the whigs we are to recommend the aggrandizement of France, and the subversion of the balance of power? Is it to the tories we are to recommend our eagerness to cement ourselves with the enemies of royalty and religion? But if these parties, which by their diffentions have so often distracted the kingdom, which by their union have once faved it, and which by their collision and mutual resistance, have: preserved the variety of this constitution in its unity, be (as I believe they are) nearly extinct by the growth of new ones, which have their roots in the present circumstances of the times—I wish to know, to which of these new descriptions this declaration is addressed? It can hardly be to those persons, who, in the new distribution of parties, considerthe conservation in England of the ancient order of things, as necessary to preserve order every where elfe, and who regard the general conservation of order in other countries, as reciprocally necessary. to preserve the same state of things in these islands...

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That party never can wish to see Great Britain pledge herself to give the lead and the ground of advantage and superiority to the France of to-day, in any treaty which is to settle Europe. I insist upon it, that so far from expecting such an engagement, they are generally stupesied and consounded with it. That the other party which demands great changes here, and is so pleased to see them every where else, which party I call jacobin, that this faction does from the bottom of its heart, approve the declaration, and does erect its crest upon the engagement, there can be little doubt. To them it may be addressed with propriety, for it answers their purposes in every point.

The party in opposition within the house of lords and commons, it is irreverent, and half a breach of privilege (far from my thoughts) to consider as jacobin. This party has always denied the existence of fuch a faction; and has treated the machinations of those, whom you and I call jacobins, as so many forgeries and fictions of the minister and his adherents, to find a pretext for destroying freedom, and fetting up an arbitrary power in this kingdom. However, whether this minority has a leaning towards the French fystem, or only a charitable toleration of those who lean that way, it is certain, that they have always attacked the fincerity of the minister in the same modes, and on the very same grounds, and nearly in the same terms, with the directory.

directory. It must, therefore, be at the tribunal of the minority, (from the whole tenour of the fpeech) that the minister appeared to consider himfelf obliged to purge himself of duplicity. It was at their bar that he held up his hand. It was on their sellette that he seemed to answer interrogatories; it was on their principles that he defended his whole conduct. They certainly take what the French call the baute du pavé. They have loudly called for the negotiation. It was accorded to them. They engaged their support of the war with vigour, in case peace was not granted on honourable terms. Peace was not granted on any terms, honourable or shameful. Whether these judges, few in number but powerful in jurisdiction, are fatisfied; whether they to whom this new pledge is hypothecated, have redeemed their own; whether they have given one particle more of their fupport to ministry, or even favoured them with their good opinion, or their candid construction, I leave it to those, who recollect that memorable debate, to determine.

The fact is, that neither this declaration, nor the negotiation which is its subject, could serve any one good purpose, foreign or domestick; it could conduce to no end either with regard to allies or neutrals. It tends neither to bring back the misled; nor to give courage to the fearful; nor to ani-

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mate and confirm those, who are hearty and zealous in the cause.

I hear it has been faid (though I can scarcely believe it) by a distinguished person in an assembly, where if there be less of the torrent and tempest of eloquence, more guarded expression is to be expected, that, indeed, there was no just ground of hope in this business from the beginning.

It is plain, that this noble person, however converfant in negotiation, having been employed in no less than four embassies, and in two hemifpheres, and in one of those negotiations having fully experienced what it was to proceed to treaty without previous encouragement, was not at all confulted in this experiment. For his majesty's principal minister declared, on the very same day, in another house, " his majesty's deep and sincere " regret at its unfortunate and abrupt termination, " fo different from the wishes and hopes that were "entertained;"—and in other parts of the speech speaks of this abrupt termination as a great disappointment, and as a fall from fincere endeavours and fanguine expectation. Here are, indeed, fentiments diametrically opposite, as to the hopes with which the negotiation was commenced and carried on, and what is curious is, the grounds of the hopes on the one side, and the despair on the other, are exactly the fame. The logical conclufion from the common premises, is indeed in favour of the noble lord, for they are agreed that the enemy was far from giving the least degree of countenance to any such hopes; and that they proceeded, in spite of every discouragement which the enemy had thrown in their way. But there is another material point in which they do not seem to disser; that is to say, the result of the desperate experiment of the noble lord, and of the promising attempt of the great minister, in satisfying the people of England, and in causing discontent to the people of France; or, as the minister expresses it, "in uniting England and in dividing France."

For my own part, though I perfectly agreed with the noble lord, that the attempt was desperate, so desperate indeed, as to deserve his name of an experiment, yet no fair man can possibly doubt, that the minister was perfectly sincere in his proceeding, and that, from his ardent wishes for peace with the regicides, he was led to conceive hopes which were founded rather in his vehement defires than in any rational ground of political speculation. Convinced as I am of this, it had been better, in my humble opinion, that persons of great name and authority had abstained from those topicks which had been used to call the minister's . fincerity into doubt, and had not adopted the fentiments of the directory upon the subject of all our negotiations; for the noble lord expressly fays, that the experiment was made for the fatisfaction Vor. VIII. of

of the country. The directory fays exactly the same thing. Upon granting, in consequence of our supplications, the passport to lord Malmesbury, in order to remove all fort of hope from its fuccess, they charged all our previous steps, even to that moment of submissive demand to be ad-. mitted to their presence, on duplicity and perfidy; and assumed, that the object of all the steps we had taken, was that " of justifying the conti-" nuance of the war in the eyes of the English . " nation, and of throwing all the odium of it upon " the French:"-" The English nation (said they) " fupports impatiently the continuance of the war, " and a reply must be made to its complaints and its " reproaches; the parliament is about to be opened, " and the mouths of the orators who will declaim " against the war must be shut; the demands for new " taxes must be justified; and to obtain these results, " it is necessary to be able to advance, that the French "government refuses every reasonable proposition for " peace." I am forry that the language of the friends to ministry and the enemies to mankind should be so much in unison.

As to the fact in which these parties are so well agreed, that the experiment ought to have been made for the satisfaction of this country, (meaning the country of England) it were well to be wished, that persons of eminence would cease to make themselves representatives of the people of England without

without a letter of attorney, or any other act of procuration. In legal construction, the sense of the people of England is to be collected from the house of commons; and, though I do not deny the possibility of an abuse of this trust as well as any other, yet I think, that without the most weighty reasons, and in the most urgent exigencies, it is -highly dangerous to suppose that the house speaks any thing contrary to the sense of the people, or that the representative is filent when the sense of the conflituent strongly, decidedly, and upon long deliberation, speaks audibly upon any topick of mo-If there is a doubt, whether the house of commons represents perfectly the whole commons of Great Britain, (I think there is none) there can be no question but that the lords and the commons together represent the sense of the whole people to the crown, and to the world. is, when we fpeak legally and conftitutionally. a great measure, it is equally true, when we speak prudentially; but I do not pretend to affert, that there are no other principles to guide discretion than those which are or can be fixed by some law, or some constitution; yet before the legally prefumed fense of the people should be superseded by a supposition of one more real (as in all cases, where a legal prefumption is to be ascertained) some strong proofs ought to exist of a contrary disposition in the people at large, and some deci-Y 2 five

five indications of their defire upon this subject. There can be no question, that previously to a direct message from the crown neither house of parliament did indicate any thing like a wish for such advances as we have made, or fuch negotiations as we have carried on. The parliament has affented to ministry; it is not ministry that has obeyed the impulse of parliament. The people at large have their organs through which they can speak to Parliament and to the crown by a respectful petition, and, though not with absolute authority, yet with weight, they can instruct their representatives. The freeholders and other electors in this kingdom have another, and a furer mode of expressing their fentiments concerning the conduct which is held by members of parliament. In the middle of these transactions, this last opportunity has been held out to them. In all these points of view, I positively affert, that the people have no where, and in no way, expressed their wish of throwing themselves and their sovereign at the feet of a wicked and rancorous foe, to supplicate mercy, which, from the nature of that foe, and from the circumstances of affairs, we had no fort of ground to expect. It is undoubtedly the business of ministers very much to confult the inclinations of the people, but they ought to take great care that they do not receive that inclination from the few perfons who may happen to approach them. petty

petty interests of such gentlemen, their low conceptions of things, their sears arising from the danger to which the very arduous and critical situation of publick affairs may expose their places; their apprehensions from the hazards to which the discontents of a few popular men at elections may expose their seats in parliament; all these causes trouble and confuse the representations which they make to ministers of the real temper of the nation. If ministers, instead of following the great indications of the constitution, proceed on such reports, they will take the whispers of a cabal for the voice of the people, and the counsels of imprudent timidity for the wisdom of a nation.

I well remember, that when the fortune of the war began, and it began pretty early, to turn, as it is common and natural, we were dejected by the losses that had been sustained, and with the doubtful issue of the contests that were foreseen. not a word was uttered that fupposed peace upon any proper terms, was in our power, or therefore that it should be in our desire. As usual, with or without reason, we criticised the conduct of the war, and compared our fortunes with our measures. The mass of the nation went no further. For I fuppose that you always understood me as speaking of that very preponderating part of the nation, which had always been equally adverse to the French principles, and to the general progress of their

their revolution throughout Europe; confidering the final fuccess of their arms and the triumph of their principles as one and the same thing.

The first means that were used, by any one profeffing our principles, to change the minds of this party upon that subject, appeared in a small pamphlet circulated with confiderable industry. was commonly given to the noble person himself, who has passed judgment upon all hopes from negotiation, and justified our late abortive attempt only as an experiment made to fatisfy the country; and yet that pamphlet led the way in endeavouring to diffatisfy that very country with the continuance of the war, and to raise in the people the most fanguine expectations from some such course of negotiation as has been fatally purfued. This leads me to suppose (and I am glad to have reason for supposing) that there was no foundation for attributing the performance in question to that author; but without mentioning his name in the title-page, it passed for his, and does still pass uncontradicted. It was entitled "Remarks on the apparent Circumstances of the War in the fourth Week of October, 1795."

This fanguine little king's-fisher (not prescient of the storm, as by his instinct he ought to be) appearing at that uncertain season, before the riggs of old Michaelmas were yet well composed, and when the inclement storms of winter were approaching,

proaching, began to flicker over the seas, and was busy in building its halcyon nest, as if the angry ocean had been soothed by the genial breath of May. Very unfortunately this auspice was instantly followed by a speech from the throne, in the very spirit and principles of that pamphlet.

I fay nothing of the newspapers, which are undoubtedly in the interest, and which are supposed by some to be directly or indirectly under the influence of ministers, and which, with less authority than the pamphlet I speak of, had indeed for some time before held a fimilar language, in direct contradiction to their more early tone: in fo much, that I can speak it with a certain assurance, that very many who wished to administration as well as you and I do, thought that in giving their opinion in favour of this peace, they followed the opinion of ministry—they were conscious that they did not lead it. My inference therefore is this, that the negotiation whatever its merits may be, in the general principle and policy of undertaking it, is, what every political measure in general ought to be, the fole work of administration; and that if it was an experiment to fatisfy any body, it was to fatisfy those, whom the ministers were in the daily habit of condemning, and by whom they were daily condemned; I mean, the leaders of the opposition in parliament. I am certain that the ministers were then, and are now, invested with the Y 4 fullest

fullest considence of the major part of the nation, to pursue such measures of peace or war as the nature of things shall suggest as most adapted to the publick safety. It is in this light therefore as a measure which ought to have been avoided, and ought not to be repeated, that I take the liberty of discussing the merits of this system of regicide negotiations. It is not a matter of light experiment that leaves us where it found us. Peace or war are the great hinges upon which the very being of nations turns. Negotiations are the means of making peace or preventing war, and are therefore of more serious importance than almost any single event of war can possibly be.

At the very outset I do not hesitate to affirm, that this country in particular, and the publick law in general, have fuffered more by this negotiation of experiment, than by all the battles together that we have lost from the commencement of this century to this time, when it touches so nearly to its close. I therefore have the misfortune not to coincide in opinion with the great statesman who set on foot a negotiation, as he faid, "in spite of the constant " opposition he had met with from France." admits, " that the difficulty in this negotiation be-" came most feriously increased indeed, by the " fituation in which we were placed, and the man-" ner in which alone the enemy would admit of a "negotiation." This fituation fo described, and ſo

fo truly described, rendered our solicitation notonly degrading, but from the very outset evidently hopeless.

I find it afferted, and even a merit taken for it, "that this country furmounted every difficulty of "form and etiquette which the enemy had thrown "in our way." An odd way of furmounting a difficulty by cowering under it! I find it afferted that an heroick resolution had been taken, and avowed in parliament, previous to this negotiation, "that no consideration of etiquette should stand "in the way of it."

Etiquette, if I understand rightly the term, which in any extent is of modern usage, had its original application to those ceremonial and formal observances practised at courts, which had been established by long usage, in order to preserve the sovereign power from the rude intrusion of licentious familiarity, as well as to preserve majesty itself from a disposition to consult its ease at the expence of its dignity. The term came afterwards to have a greater latitude, and to be employed to signify certain formal methods used in the transactions between sovereign states.

In the more limited as well as in the larger sense of the term, without knowing what the etiquette is, it is impossible to determine whether it is a vain and captious punctilio, or a form necessary to preserve decorum in character and order in business.

nefs. I readily admit, that nothing tends to facilitate the iffue of all publick transactions more than a mutual disposition in the parties treating, to wave all ceremony. But the use of this temporary suspension of the recognised modes of respect consists in its being mutual, and in the spirit of conciliation in which all ceremony is laid aside. On the contrary, when one of the parties to a treaty intrenches himself up to the chin in these ceremonies, and will not, on his side, abate a single punctilio, and that all the concessions are upon one side only, the party so conceding does by this act place himself in a relation of inferiority, and thereby fundamentally subverts that equality which is of the very essence of all treaty.

After this formal act of degradation, it was but a matter of course, that gross infult should be offered to our ambassador, and that he should tamely submit to it. He sound himself provoked to complain of the atrocious libels against his publick character and his person, which appeared in a paper under the avowed patronage of that government. The regicide directory, on this complaint, did not recognise the paper; and that was all. They did not punish, they did not dismiss, they did not even reprimand the writer. As to our ambassador, this total want of reparation for the injury was passed by under the pretence of despising it.

In this, but too ferious business, it is not possible here

here to avoid a fmile. Contempt is not a thing to be despised. It may be borne with a calm and equal mind, but no man by lifting his head high can pretend that he does not perceive the scorns that are poured down upon him from above. All these sudden complaints of injury, and all these deliberate submissions to it, are the inevitable consequences of the situation in which we had placed ourselves; a situation wherein the insults were such as nature would not enable us to bear, and circumstances would not permit us to resent.

It was not long, however, after this contempt of contempt upon the part of our ambassador (who by the way represented his sovereign) that a new object was furnished for displaying sentiments of the same kind, though the case was infinitely aggravated. Not the ambassador, but the king himself was libelled and infulted; libelled, not by a creature of the directory, but by the directory itself. At least so lord Malmesbury understood it, and so he answered it in his note of the 12th December, 1796, in which he fays, "With regard to the offenfive " and injurious infinuations which are contained in "that paper, and which are only calculated to throw " new obstacles in the way of that accommodation, "which the French government profess to desire, "THE KING HAS DEEMED IT FAR BE-" NEATH HIS DIGNITY to permit an answer

"to be made to them on his part, in any manner "whatfoever."

I am of opinion, that if his majefty had kept aloof from that wash and off-scouring of every thing that is low and barbarous in the world, it might be well thought unworthy of his dignity to take notice of fuch fcurrilities. They must be confidered as much the natural expression of that kind of animal, as it is the expression of the feelings of a dog to bark; but when the king had been advised to recognise not only the monstrous composition as a sovereign power, but, in conduct, to admit fomething in it like a fuperiority; when the bench of regicide was made, at least, co-ordinate with his throne, and raifed upon a platform full as elevated, this treatment could not be passed by under the appearance of despising it. It would not, indeed, have been proper to keep up a war of the fame kind, but an immediate, manly, and decided refentment ought to have been the confequence. We ought not to have waited for the difgraceful difmissal of our ambassador. There are cases in which we may pretend to sleep: but the wittol rule has some sense in it, Non omnibus dormio. We might, however, have feemed ignorant of the affront; but what was the fact? Did we dissemble or pass it by in filence? When dignity is talked of, a language which I did not expect to hear in fuch a transaction, I must say what all the world must

must feel, that it was not for the king's dignity to notice this insult, and not to resent it. This mode of proceeding is formed on new ideas of the correspondence between sovereign powers.

This was far from the only ill effect of the policy of degradation. The state of inferiority in which we were placed in this vain attempt at treaty, drove us headlong from errour into errour, and led us to wander far away, not only from the old paths which have been beaten in the old course of political communication between mankind, but out of the ways even of the most common prudence. Against all rules, after we had met nothing but rebuffs in return to all our proposals, we made two confidential communications to those in whom we had no confidence, and who reposed no confidence in What was worse, we were fully aware of the madness of the step we were taking. Ambassadors are not fent to a hostile power, persevering in sentiments of hostility, to make candid, confidential, and amicable communications. Hitherto the world has confidered it as the duty of an ambassador in fuch a fituation to be cautious, guarded, dexterous, and circumspect. It is true that mutual confidence and common interest dispense with all rules, smooth the rugged way, remove every obstacle, and make all things plain and level. When, in the last century, Temple and De Witt negotiated the famous triple alliance, their candour, their freedom, and the

the most confidential disclosures, were the result of true policy. Accordingly, in spite of all the dilatory forms of the complex government of the United Provinces, the treaty was concluded in three days. It did not take a much longer time to bring the same state (that of Holland) through a still more complicated transaction, that of the Grand Alliance. But in the present case, this unparalleled candour, this unpardonable want of reserve, produced what might have been expected from it, the most serious evils. It instructed the enemy in the whole plan of our demands and concessions. It made the most satal discoveries.

And first, it induced us to lay down the basis of a treaty which itself had nothing to rest upon; it feems, we thought we had gained a great point in getting this basis admitted—that is, a basis of mutual compensation and exchange of conquests. a disposition to peace, and with any reasonable asfurance, had been previously indicated, such a plan of arrangement might with propriety and fafety be proposed, because these arrangements were not, in effect, to make the basis, but a part of the superstructure of the fabrick of pacification. The order of things would thus be reverfed. The mutual disposition to peace, would form the reasonable base upon which the scheme of compensation, upon one fide or the other, might be constructed. truly fundamental base being once laid, all differ-

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ences arising from the spirit of huckstering and barter might be easily adjusted. If the restoration of peace, with a view to the establishment of a fair balance of power in Europe, had been made the real basis of the treaty, the reciprocal value of the compensations could not be estimated according to their proportion to each other, but according to their proportionate relation to that end: to that great end the whole would be subservient. The effect of the treaty would be in a manner secured before the detail of particulars was begun, and for a plain reason, because the hostile spirit on both sides had been conjured down; but if in the full fury, and unappealed rancour of war, a little traffick is attempted, it is easy to divine what must be the confequence to those who endeavour to open that kind of petty commerce.

To illustrate what I have said, I go back no further than to the two last treaties of Paris, and to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which preceded the first of these two treaties of Paris by about sourteen or sifteen years. I do not mean here to criticise any of them. My opinions upon some particulars of the treaty of Paris in 1763, are published in a pamphlet,* which your recollection will readily bring into your view. I recur to them only to shew that their basis had not been, and never could have been a mere dealing of truck and barter, but that

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[·] Observations on a late state of the nation.

the parties being willing, from common fatigue or common fuffering, to put an end to a war, the first object of which had either been obtained or defpaired of, the lesser objects were not thought worth the price of further contest. The parties underflanding one another, so much was given away without confidering from whose budget it came, not as the value of the objects, but as the value of peace to the parties might require. At the last treaty of Paris the subjugation of America being despaired of on the part of Great Britain, and the independence of America being looked upon as fecure on the part of France, the main cause of the war was removed; and the conquests which France had made upon us (for we had made none of importance upon her) were furrendered with fufficient facility. Peace was restored as peace. In America the parties flood as they were possessed. A limit was to be settled, but settled as a limit to secure that peace, and not at all on a fystem of equivalents, for which, as we then flood with the United States, there were little or no materials.

At the preceding treaty of Paris, I mean that of 1763, there was nothing at all on which to fix a basis of compensation from reciprocal cession of conquests. They were all on one side. The question with us was not what we were to receive, and on what consideration, but what we were to keep for indemnity, or to cede for peace. Accordingly

no place being left for parter, facrifices were made on our fide to peace; and we furrendered to the French their most valuable possessions in the West Indies without any equivalent. The rest of Europe fell soon after into its ancient order; and the German war ended exactly where it had begun.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was built upon a fimilar basis. All the conquests in Europe had been made by France. She had fubdued the Auftrian Netherlands, and broken open the gates of Holland. We had taken nothing in the West Indies, and Cape Breton was a trifling business indeed. France gave up all for peace. The allies had given up all that was ceded at Utrecht. Louis the fourteenth made all, or nearly all, the cessions at Ryswick, and at Nimeguen. In all those treaties, - and in all the preceding, as well as in the others which intervened, the question never had been that of barter. The balance of power had been ever assumed as the known common law of Europe at all times, and by all powers: the question had only been (as it must happen) on the more or less inclination of that balance.

This general balance was regarded in four principal points of view:—the GREAT MIDDLE BALANCE, which comprehended Great Britain, France, and Spain; the BALANCE OF THE NORTH; the BALANCE, external and internal, of GERMANY; and the BALANCE OF ITALY. In all those fystems of balance, Vol. VIII.

Z England

England was the power to whose custody it was thought it might be most safely committed.

France, as she happened to stand, secured the balance, or endangered it. Without question she had been long the fecurity for the balance of Germany, and under her auspices, the system, if not formed, had been at least perfected. She was so in fome measure with regard to Italy, more than occasionally. She had a clear interest in the balance of the north, and had endeavoured to preferve it. But when we began to treat with the present France, or more properly to prostrate ourselves to her, and to try if we should be admitted to ransom our allies, upon a system of mutual concession and compensation, we had not one of the usual facilities. For first, we had not the smallest indication of a desire for peace on the part of the enemy; but rather the direct contrary. Men do not make facrifices to obtain what they do not defire: and as for the balance of power, it was fo far from being admitted by France either on the general fystem, or with regard to the particular fystems that I have mentioned, that in the whole body of their authorized or encouraged reports and difcussions upon the theory of the diplomatick system, they constantly rejected the very idea of the balance of power, and treated it as the true cause of all the wars and calamities that had afflicted Europe:. and their practice was correspondent to the dogmatick

matick positions they had laid down. The Empire and the Papacy it was their great object to destroy, and this now openly avowed and stedfassly acted upon, might have been discerned with very little acuteness of sight, from the very first dawnings of the revolution, to be the main drift of their policy. For they professed a resolution to destroy every thing which can hold states together by the tie of opinion.

Exploding, therefore, all forts of balances, they avow their defign to erect themselves into a new description of empire, which is not grounded on any balance, but forms a fort of impious hierarchy, of which France is to be the head and the guardian. The law of this their empire is any thing rather than the publick law of Europe, the ancient conventions of its feveral states, or the ancient opinions which assign to them superiority or pre-eminence of any fort, or any other kind of connection in virtue of ancient relations. They permit, and that is all, the temporary existence of some of the old communities; but whilst they give to these tolerated states this temporary respite in order to secure them in a condition of real dependence on themselves, they invest them on every side by a body of republicks, formed on the model, and dependent oftenfibly, as well as fubstantially, on the will of the mother republick, to which they owe their origin. These are to be so many garrisons to check and Z 2 control

control the states, which are to be permitted to remain on the old model, until they are ripe for a change. It is in this manner, that France, on her new system, means to form an universal empire, by producing an universal revolution. By this means, forming a new code of communities according to what the calls the natural rights of man and of states, she pretends to secure eternal peace to the world, guaranteed by her generofity and justice, which are to grow with the extent of her power. To talk of the balance of power to the governours of fuch a country, was a jargon which they could not understand even through an interpreter. Before men can transact any affair, they must have a common language to speak, and some common recognised principles on which they can argue, otherwife all is crofs-purpose and confusion. k was, therefore, an effential preliminary to the whole proceeding, to fix, whether the balance of power, the liberties and laws of the empire, and the treaties of different belligerent powers in past times, when they put an end to hostilities, were to be confidered as the basis of the present negotiation.

The whole of the enemy's plan was known when Lord Malmefbury was fent with his scrap of equivalents to Paris. Yet, in this unfortunate attempt at negotiation, instead of fixing these points, and assuming the balance of power and the peace of Europe as the basis to which all cessions on all sides were to be subservient, our solicitor for peace was directed to reverse that order. He was directed to make mutual concessions, on a mere comparison of their marketable value, the base of treaty. The balance of power was to be thrown in as an inducement, and a fort of make-weight, to supply the manifest desiciency which must stare him and the world in the sace, between those objects which he was to require the enemy to surrender, and those which he had to offer as a fair equivalent.

To give any force to this inducement, and to make it answer even the secondary purpose of equalizing equivalents having in themselves no natural proportionate value, it supposed, that the enemy, contrary to the most notorious fact, did admit this balance of power to be of some value, great or fmall; whereas it is plain, that in the enemy's estimate of things, the confideration of the balance of power, as we have faid before, was so far from going in diminution of the value of what the directory was defired to furrender, or of giving an additional price to our objects offered in exchange, that the hope of the utter destruction of that balance, became a new motive to the junto of regicides for preserving, as a means for realising that hope, what we wished them to abandon.

Thus stood the basis of the treaty on laying the first stone of the foundation. At the very best, upon our side, the question stood upon a mere Z 3 naked

naked bargain and fale. Unthinking people here triumphed when they thought they had obtained it, whereas when obtained as a basis of treaty, it was just the worst we could possibly have chosen. As to our offer to cede a most unprositable, and, ineleed, beggarly, chargeable counting-house or two in the East Indies, we ought not to presume that they could consider this as any thing else than a mockery. As to any thing of real value, we had nothing under Heaven to offer (for which we were not ourselves in a very dubious struggle) except the island of Martinico only. When this object was to be weighed against the directorial conquests, merely as an object of a value at market, the principle of barter became perfectly ridiculous; a fingle quarter in the fingle city of Amsterdam, was worth ten Martinicos; and would have fold for many more years purchase in any market overt in Europe. How was this gross and glaring defect in the objects of exchange to be supplied?—It was to be made up by argument. And what was that argument?—The extreme utility of possessions in the .West Indies to the augmentation of the naval power of France. A very curious topick of argument to be proposed and insisted on by an ambaffador of Great Britain. It is directly and plainly this ___ Come, we know that of all things you wish a paval power, and it is natural you should, who with to definouthe very fourges of the British greatness, Ladin

ness, to overpower our marine, to destroy our commerce, to eradicate our foreign influence, and to lay us open to an invasion, which, at one stroke, may complete our servitude and ruin, and expunge us from among the nations of the earth. Here I have it in my budget, the infallible arcanum for that purpose. You are but novices in the art of naval resources. Let you have the West Indies back, and your maritime preponderance is secured, for which you would do well to be moderate in your demands upon the Austrian Netherlands."

Under any circumstances, this is a most extraordinary topick of argument; but it is rendered by much the more unaccountable, when we are told, that if the war has been diverted from the great object of establishing society and good order in Europe by destroying the usurpation in France; this diversion, was made to increase the naval resources and power of Great Britain, and to lower, if not annihilate, those of the marine of France. I leave all this to the very serious reslection of every Englishman.

This basis was no sooner admitted, than the rejection of a treaty upon that sole soundation was a thing of course. The enemy did not think it worthy of a discussion, as in truth it was not; and immediately as usual, they began, in the most opprobrious, and most insolent manner, to question our sincerity and good faith. Whereas, in truth, there

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was no one symptom wanting of openness and fair dealing. What could be more fair than to lay open to an enemy all that you wished to obtain, and the price you meant to pay for it, and to desire him to imitate your ingenuous proceeding, and in the fame manner to open his honest heart to you? Here was no want of fair dealing, but there was too evidently a fault of another kind; there was much weakness—there was an eager and impotent desire of affociating with this unfocial power, and of attempting the connection by any means, however manifestly feeble and ineffectual. The event was committed to chance; that is, to fuch a manifestation of the defire of France for peace, as would induce the directory to forget the advantages they had in the fystem of barter. Accordingly the general desire for such a peace was triumphantly reported from the moment that Lord Malmesbury had fet his foot on shore at Calais.

It has been faid, that the directory was compelled against its will to accept the basis of barter (as if that had tended to accelerate the work of pacification!) by the voice of all France. Had this been the case, the directors would have continued to listen to that voice to which it seems they were so obedient: they would have proceeded with the negotiation upon that basis. But the fact is, that they instantly broke up the negotiation, as soon as they had obliged our ambassador to violate all the principles

principles of treaty, and weakly, rashly, and unguardedly, to expose, without any counter-proposition, the whole of our project with regard to ourselves and our allies, and without holding out the smallest hope that they would admit the smallest part of our pretensions.

When they had thus drawn from us all that they could draw out, they expelled Lord Malmesbury, and they appealed for the propriety of their conduct, to that very France which, we thought proper to suppose, had driven them to this fine concession; and I do not find that in either division of the family of thieves, the younger branch, or the elder, or in any other body whatsoever, there was any indignation excited, or any tumult raised; or any thing like the virulence of opposition which was shewn to the king's ministers here, on account of that transaction.

Notwithstanding all this, it seems a hope is still entertained, that the directory will have that tenderness for the carcase of their country, by whose very distemper, and on whose festering wounds, like vermin, they are fed; that these pious patriots will of themselves come into a more moderate and reasonable way of thinking and acting. In the name of wonder, what has inspired our ministry with this hope any more than with their former expectations?

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Do these hopes only arise from continual disappointment? Do they grow out of the usual grounds of despair? What is there to encourage them, in the conduct, or even in the declarations of the ruling powers in France, from the first formation of their mischievous republick to the hour in which I write? Is not the directory composed of the same junto? Are they not the identical men, who, from the base and fordid vices which belonged to their original place and fituation, aspired to the dignity of crimes; and from the dirtiest, lowest, most fraudulent, and most knavish of chicaners, ascended in the scale of robbery, sacrilege, and asfassination in all its forms, till at last they had imbrucd their impious hands in the blood of their fovereign? Is it from these men that we are to hope for this paternal tenderness to their country, and this facred regard for the peace and happiness of all nations!

But it feems there is still another lurking hope, akin to that which duped us so egregiously before, when our delightful basis was accepted; we still flatter ourselves that the publick voice of France will compel this directory to more moderation. Whence does this hope arise? What publick voice is there in France? There are, indeed, some writers, who, since this monster of a directory has obtained a great regular military force to guard them, are indulged in a sufficient liberty of writing,

ing, and fome of them write well undoubtedly. But the world knows that in France there is no. publick, that the country is composed but of two. descriptions; audacious tyrants and trembling flaves. The contests between the tyrants is the only vital principle that can be discerned in France. The only thing which there appears like fpirit, is amongst their late affociates, and fastest friends of the directory, the more furious and untameable part of the jacobins. This discontented member of the faction does almost balance the reigning divisions; and it threatens every moment to predominate. For the present, however, the dread of their fury forms fome fort of fecurity to their fellows, who now exercise a more regular, and therefore a fomewhat less ferocious tyranny. Most of the slaves choose a quiet, however reluctant fubmission to those who are somewhat satiated with blood, and who, like wolves, are a little more tame from being a little less hungry, in preference to an irruption of the famished devourers, who are prowling and howling about the fold.

This circumstance assures some degree of permanence to the power of those, whom we know to be permanently our rancorous and implacable enemies. But to those very enemies, who have sworn our destruction, we have ourselves given a further and far better security by rendering the

cause of the royalists desperate. Those brave and virtuous, but unfortunate adherents to the ancient constitution of their country, after the miserable flaughters which have been made in that body, after all their losses by emigration, are still numerous, but unable to exert themselves against the force of the usurpation, evidently countenanced and upheld by those very princes who had called them to arm for the support of the legal monarchy. Where then, after chacing these sleeting hopes of ours from point to point of the political horizon, are they at last really found? Not where, under Providence, the hopes of Englishmen used to be placed, in our own courage and in our own virtues, but in the moderation and virtue of the most atrocious monsters that have ever difgraced and plagued mankind.

The only excuse to be made for all our mendicant diplomacy is the same as in the case of all other mendicancy;—namely, that it has been founded on absolute necessity. This deserves consideration. Necessity, as it has no law, so it has no shame; but moral necessity is not like metaphysical, or even physical. In that category, it is a word of loose signification, and conveys different ideas to different minds. To the low-minded, the slightest necessity becomes an invincible necessity. "The slothful man saith, There is a lion in the way, and I shall be devoured in "the

"the streets." But when the necessity pleaded is not in the nature of things, but in the vices of him who alleges it, the whining tones of common-place beggarly rhetorick, produce nothing but indignation; because they indicate a desire of keeping up a dishonourable existence, without utility to others, and without dignity to itself; because they aim at obtaining the dues of labour without industry; and by frauds would draw from the compassion of others, what men ought to owe to their own spirit and their own exertions.

I am thoroughly satisfied that if we degrade ourselves, it is the degradation which will subject us to the yoke of necessity, and not that it is necessity, which has brought on our degradation. In this same chaos, where light and darkness are flruggling together, the open subscription of last year, with all its circumstances, must have given us no little glimmering of hope; not (as I have heard, it was vainly discoursed) that the loan could prove a crutch to a lame negotiation abroad; and that the whiff and wind of it must at once have disposed the enemies of all tranquility to a desire for peace. Judging on the face of facts, if on them it had any effect at all, it had the direct contrary effect; for very foon after the loan became publick at Paris, the negotiation ended, and our ambaffador was ignominiously expelled. My view of this was different: I liked the loan, not from the

the influence which it might have on the enemy, but on account of the temper which it indicated in our own people. This alone is a confideration of any importance; because all calculation, formed upon a supposed relation of the habitudes of others to our own, under the present circumstances, is weak and fallacious. The adversary must be judged, not by what we are, or by what we wish him to be, but by what we must know he actually is: unless we choose to shut our eyes and our ears to the uniform tenour of all his discourses. and to his uniform course in all his actions. may be deluded; but we cannot pretend that we have been disappointed. The old rule of, Ne te quefiveris extra, is a precept as available in policy as it is in morals. Let us leave off speculating upon the disposition and the wants of the enemy. Let us descend into our own bosoms; let us ask ourselves what are our duties and what are our means of discharging them. In what heart are you at home? How far may an English minister confide in the affections, in the confidence, in the force of an English people? What does he find us when he puts us to the proof of what English interest and English honour demand? It is, as furnishing an answer to these questions that I consider the circumstances of the loan. The effect on the enemy is not in what he may speculate on our resources, but in what he shall feel from our arms.

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The circumstances of the loan have proved beyond a doubt three capital points, which, if they are properly used, may be advantageous to the future liberty and happiness of mankind. first place, the loan demonstrates, in regard to instrumental resources, the competency of this kingdom to the affertion of the common cause, and to the maintenance and superintendance of that, which it is its duty, and its glory to hold, and to watch over-the balance of power throughout the christian world. Secondly, it brings to light what, under the most discouraging appearances, I always reckoned on; that with its ancient physical force, not only unimpaired, but augmented, its ancient fpirit is still alive in the British nation. It proves, that for their application there is a spirit equal to the resources, for its energy above them. It proves that there exists though not always visible, a spirit which never fails to come forth whenever it is ritually invoked; a spirit which will give no equivocal response, but such as will hearten the timidity, and fix the irrefolution of hefitating prudence; a spirit which will be ready to perform all the tasks that shall be imposed upon it by publick honour. Thirdly, the loan displays an abundant confidence in his Majesty's government, as administered by his present servants, in the prosecution of a war which the people consider, not as a war made on the fuggestion of ministers, and to answer

answer the purposes of the ambition or pride of statesmen, but as a war of their own, and in desence of that very property which they expend for its support; a war for that order of things, from which every thing valuable that they possess is derived, and in which order alone it can possibly be maintained.

I hear in derogation of the value of the fact, from which I draw inferences to favourable to the spirit of the people and to its just expectation from ministers, that the eighteen million loan is to be confidered in no other light, than as taking advantage of a very lucrative bargain held out to the fubscribers. I do not in truth believe it. circumstances which attended the subscription strongly spoke a different language. Be it, however, as these detractors say. This with me derogates little, or rather nothing at all, from the political value and importance of the fact. I should be very forry if the transaction was not such a bargain, otherwise it would not have been a fair one. A corrupt and improvident loan, like every thing else corrupt or prodigal, cannot be too much condemned: but there is a fhort-fighted parfimony fill more fatal than an unforesceing expence. The value of money must be judged like every thing elfe from its rate at market. To force that market, or any market, is of all things the most dangerous. For a small temporary benefit, the spring oť

of all publick credit might be relaxed for ever. The monied men have a right to look to advantage in the investment of their property. To advance their money, they risk it; and the risk is to be included in the price. If they were to incur a loss, that loss would amount to a tax on that peculiar species of property. In effect, it would be the most unjust and impolitick of all things, unequal taxation. It would throw upon one description of persons in the community, that burden which ought by fair and equitable distribution to rest upon the whole. None on account of their dignity should be exempt; none (preserving due proportion) on account of the scantiness of their means. The moment a man is exempted from the maintenance of the community, he is in a fort separated from it. He loses the place of a citizen.

So it is in all taxation; but in a bargain, when terms of loss are looked for by the borrower from the lender, compulsion, or what virtually is compulsion, introduces itself into the place of treaty. When compulsion may be at all used by a state in borrowing, the occasion must determine. But the compulsion ought to be known, and well defined, and well distinguished: for otherwise treaty only weakens the energy of compulsion, while compulsion destroys the freedom of a bargain. The advantage of both is lost by the confusion Vol. VIII.

of things in their nature utterly unsociable. It would be to introduce compulsion into that in which freedom and existence are the same; I mean credit. The moment that shame, or fear, or force, are directly or indirectly applied to a loan, credit perishes.

There must be some impulse besides publick spirit, to put private interest into motion along with Monied men ought to be allowed to fet a value on their money; if they did not, there could be no monied men. This defire of accumulation, is a principle without which the means of their fervice to the state could not exist. The love of lucre, though fometimes carried to a ridiculous, fometimes to a vicious excess, is the grand cause of prosperity to all states. In this natural, this reasonable, this powerful, this prolifick principle, it is for the fatyrist to expose the ridiculous; it is for the moralist to censure the vicious; it is for the fympathetick heart to reprobate the hard and cruel; it is for the judge to animadvert on the fraud, the extortion, and the oppression; but it is for the statesman to employ it as he finds it, with all its concomitant excellencies, with all its imperfections on its head. It is his part, in this case, as it is in all other cases, where he is to make use of the general energies of nature, to take them as he finds them.

After all, it is a great mistake to imagine, as too commonly,

commonly, almost indeed generally, it is imagined, that the publick borrower and the private lender are two adverse parties with different and contending interests; and that what is given to the one, is wholly taken from the other. Constituted as our fystem of finance and taxation is, the interests of the contracting parties cannot well be separated, whatever they may reciprocally intend. He who is the hard lender of to-day, to-morrow is the generous contributor to his own payment. For example, the last loan is raised on publick taxes, which are defigned to produce annually two millions sterling. At first view, this is an annuity of two millions dead charge upon the publick in favour of certain monied men: but inspect the thing more nearly, follow the stream in its meanders, and you will find that there is a good deal of fallacy in this state of things.

I take it, that whoever considers any man's expenditure of his income, old or new (I speak of certain classes in life), will find a full third of it go in taxes, direct or indirect. If so, this new-created income of two millions will probably furnish 665,000l. (I avoid broken numbers) towards the payment of its own interest, or to the sinking of its own capital. So it is with the whole of the publick debt. Suppose it any given sum, it is a salacious estimate of the affairs of a nation to consider it as a mere burthen; to a degree it is so

without question, but not wholly so, nor any thing like it. If the income from the interest be spent, the above proportion returns again into the publick stock: insomuch, that, taking the interest of the whole debt to be twelve millions, three hundred thousand pound, (it is something more) not less than a sum of sour million one hundred thousand pound comes back again to the publick through the channel of imposition. If the whole, or any part, of that income be saved, so much new capital is generated; the infallible operation of which is to lower the value of money, and consequently to conduce towards the improvement of publick credit.

I take the expenditure of the capitalist, not the value of the capital, as my flandard; because it is the standard upon which amongst us, property as an object of taxation, is rated. In this country, land and offices only excepted, we raife no faculty tax. We preserve the faculty from the expence. Our taxes, for the far greater portion, fly over the heads of the lowest classes. They escape too who, with better ability, voluntarily fubject themselves to the harsh discipline of a rigid necessity. us, labour and frugality, the parents of riches, are fpread, and wifely too. The moment men cease to augment the common flock, the moment they no longer enrich it by their industry or their felfdenial, their luxury and even their ease are obliged to pay contribution to the publick; not because they

they are vicious principles, but because they are unproductive. If, in fact, the interest paid by the publick had not thus revolved again into its own fund; if this fecretion had not again been absorbed into the mass of blood, it would have been imposfible for the nation to have existed to this time under fuch a debt. But under the debt it does exist and flourish; and this flourishing state of existence in no small degree is owing to the contribution from the debt to the payment. Whatever, therefore, is taken from that capital by too close a bargain, is but a delusive advantage, it is so much lost to the publick in another way. This matter cannot on the one fide or the other, be metaphyfically purfued to the extreme, but it is a confideration of which, in all discussions of this kind, we ought never wholly to lofe fight.

It is never, therefore, wife to quarrel with the interested views of men, whilst they are combined with the publick interest and promote it: it is our business to tie the knot, if possible, closer. Resources that are derived from extraordinary virtues, as such virtues are rare, so they must be unproductive. It is a good thing for a monied man to pledge his property on the welfare of his country; he shews that he places his treasure where his heart is; and, revolving in this circle, we know that "wherever a man's treasure is, there his heart will be also." For these reasons and on these principles, I have

been forry to fee the attempts which have been made, with more good meaning than forelight and confideration, towards raifing the annual interest of this loan by private contributions. a regular revenue is established, there voluntary contribution can answer no purpose, but to disorder and disturb it in its course. To recur to such aids is, for so much to dissolve the community, and to return to a state of unconnected nature. And even if fuch a fupply should be productive, in a degree commensurate to its object, it must also be productive of much vexation, and much oppression. Either the citizens, by the proposed duties, pay their proportion according to some rate made by publick authority, or they do not. If the law be well made, and the contributions founded on just proportions, every thing superadded by something that is not as regular as law, and as uniform in its operation, will become more or less out of pro-If, on the contrary, the law be not made upon proper calculation, it is a difgrace to the publick wisdom, which fails in skill to asses the citizen in just measure, and according to his means. the hand of authority is not always the most heavy hand. It is obvious, that men may be oppressed by many ways, besides those which take their course from the supreme power of the state. Suppose the payment to be wholly discretionary. Whatever has its origin in caprice, is fure not to improve in

its progress, nor to end in reason. It is impossible for each private individual to have any measure conformable to the particular condition of each of his fellow-citizens, or to the general exigencies of his country. 'Tis a random shot at best.

When men proceed in this irregular mode, the first contributor is apt to grow peevish with his neighbours. He is but too well disposed to measure their means by his own envy, and not by the real state of their fortunes, which he can rarely know, and which it may in them be an act of the groffest imprudence to reveal. Hence the odium and laffitude, with which people will look upon a provifion for the publick, which is bought by discord at the expence of focial quiet. Hence the bitter heartburnings, and the war of tongues which is so often the prelude to other wars. Nor is it every contribution, called voluntary, which is according to the free will of the giver. A false shame, or a false glory, against his feelings, and his judgment, may tax an individual to the detriment of his family, and in wrong of his creditors. A pretence of publick spirit may disable him from the performance of his private duties. It may disable him even from paying the legitimate contributions which he is to furnish according to the prescript of law; but what is the most dangerous of all is, that malignant disposition to which this mode of contribution evidently tends, and which at length leaves the com-Аал

paratively

paratively indigent, to judge of the wealth, and to prescribe to the opulent, or those whom they conceive to be such, the use they are to make of their fortunes. From thence it is but one step to the subversion of all property.

Far, very far am I from supposing that such things enter into the purposes of those excellent persons whose zeal has led them to this kind of measure; but the measure itself will lead them beyond their intention, and what is begun with the best designs, bad men will perversely improve to the worst of their purposes. An ill-founded plausibility in great affairs is a real evil. In France we have feen the wickedest and most foolish of men, the constitution-mongers of 1789, pursuing this very course, and ending in this very event. These projectors of deception fet on foot two modes of voluntary contribution to the state. The first, they called patriotick gifts. These, for the greater part were not more ridiculous in the mode, than contemptible in the project. The other, which they called the patriotick contribution, was expected to amount to a fourth of the fortunes of individuals, but at their own will and on their own estimate; but this contribution threatening to fall infinitely short of their hopes, they foon made it compulfory, both in the rate and in the levy, beginning in fraud and ending, as all the frauds of power end, in plain violence. All these devices to produce an involuntary will,

were

were under the pretext of relieving the more indigent classes, but the principle of voluntary contribution, however delusive, being once established, these lower classes sirst, and then all classes, were encouraged to throw off the regular methodical payments to the state as so many badges of slavery. Thus all regular revenue failing, these impostors raising the superstructure on the same cheats with which they had laid the foundation of their greatness, and not content with a portion of the possesfions of the rich, confifcated the whole, and to prevent them from reclaiming their rights, murdered the proprietors. The whole of the process has passed before our eyes, and been conducted indeed with a greater degree of rapidity, than could be expected.

My opinion then is, that publick contributions ought only to be raifed by the publick will. By the judicious form of our conftitution, the publick contribution is in its name and fubstance a grant. In its origin it is truly voluntary; not voluntary, according to the irregular, unsteady, capricious will of individuals, but according to the will and wisdom of the whole popular mass, in the only way in which will and wisdom can go together. This voluntary grant obtaining in its progress the force of a law, a general necessity which takes away all merit, and consequently all jealousy from individuals, compresses, equalizes, and satisfies the whole; fuffering

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fuffering no man to judge of his neighbour, or to arrogate any thing to himself. If their will complies with their obligation, the great end is answered in the happicst mode; if the will resists the burthen, every one looses a great part of his own will as a common lot. After all, perhaps contributions raised by a charge on luxury, or that degree of convenience which approaches so near as to be consounded with luxury, is the only mode of contribution which may be with truth termed voluntary.

I might rest here, and take the loan I speak of as leading to a solution of that question, which I proposed in my first letter: "Whether the inability of the country to prosecute the war, did necessitate a submission to the indignities and the calamities of a peace with the regicide power?" But give me leave to pursue this point a little further.

I know that it has been a cry usual on this occasion, as it has been upon occasions where such a cry could have less apparent justification, that great distress and misery have been the consequence of this war, by the burthens brought and laid upon the people. But to know where the burthen really lies and where it presses, we must divide the people. As to the common people, their stock is in their persons and in their earnings. I deny that the stock of their persons is diminished in a greater proportion than the common sources of populous-

neſs

ness abundantly fill up; I mean constant employment; proportioned pay according to the produce of the foil, and where the foil fails, according to the operation of the general capital; plentiful nourifhment to vigorous labour; comfortable provifion to decrepid age, to orphan infancy, and to accidental malady. I say nothing to the policy of the provision for the poor, in all the variety of faces under which it presents itself. This is the matter of another inquiry. I only just speak of it as of a fact, taken with others to support me in. my denial that hitherto any one of the ordinary fources of the increase of mankind is dried up by this war. I affirm what I can well prove, that the waste has been less than the supply. To say that in war no man must be killed, is to say that there ought to be no war. This they may fay, who wish to talk idly, and who would display their humanity at the expence of their honesty, or their understanding. If more lives are lost in this war than necessity requires, they are lost by misconduct or mistake, but if the hostility be just, the errour is to be corrected: the war is not to be abandoned.

That the stock of the common people, in numbers, is not lessened, any more than the causes are impaired, is manifest, without being at the pains of an actual numeration. An improved and improving agriculture, which implies a great augmentation of labour, has not yet found itself at a stand,

no.

no, not for a fingle moment, for want of the necesfary hands, either in the fettled progress of hufbandry, or in the occasional pressure of harvest. have even reason to believe that there has been a much fmaller importation, or the demand of it, from a neighbouring kingdom than in former times, when agriculture was more limited in its extent and its means, and when the time was a feafon of profound peace. On the contrary the prolifick fertility of country life has poured its fuperfluity of population into the canals, and into other publick works, which of late years have been undertaken to so amazing an extent, and which have not only not been discontinued, but beyond all expectation pushed on with redoubled vigour, in a war that calls for fo many of our men, and fo much of our riches. An increasing capital calls for labour: and an increasing population anfwers to the call. Our manufactures augmented both for the supply of foreign and domestick confumption, reproducing with the means of life, the multitudes which they use and waste, (and which many of them devour much more furely and much more largely than the war) have always found the laborious hand ready for the liberal pay. That the price of the foldier is highly raifed is true. In part this rife may be owing to some measures not so well considered in the beginning of this war, but the grand cause has been the reluctance

luctance of that class of people from whom the foldiery is taken, to enter into a military life, not that but once entered into, it has its conveniences, and even its pleasures. I have seldom known a soldier who, at the intercession of his friends, and at their no small charge, had been redeemed from that discipline, that in a short time, was not eager to return to it again. But the true reason is the abundant occupation, and the augmented stipend found in towns, and villages, and farms, which leaves a smaller number of persons to be disposed of. The price of men for new and untried ways of life, must bear a proportion to the profits of that mode of existence from whence they are to be bought.

So far as to the flock of the common people as it consists in their persons. As to the other part, which confifts in their earnings, I have to fay, that the rates of wages are very greatly augmented almost through the kingdom. In the parish where I live, it has been raised from seven to nine shillings in the week for the same labourer, performing the fame talk and no greater. Except something in the malt taxes, and the duties upon fugars, I do not know any one tax imposed for very many years past which affects the labourer in any degree whatfoever; while on the other hand, the tax upon houses not having more than seven windows (that is, upon cottages) was repealed the very year before the commencement of the present war. the

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the whole, I am fatisfied that the humblest class, and that class which touches the most nearly on the lowest, out of which it is continually emerging, and to which it is continually falling, receives far more from publick impositions than it pays. That class receives two millions sterling annually from the classes above it. It pays to no such amount towards any publick contribution.

I hope it is not necessary for me to take notice of that language, so ill suited to the persons to whom it has been attributed, and fo unbecoming the place in which it is faid to have been uttered, concerning the prefent war as the cause of the high price of provisions during the greater part of the year 1796. I presume it is only to be ascribed to the intolerable licence with which the newspapers break not only the rules of decorum in real life, but even the dramatick decorum, when they perfonate great men, and, like bad poets, make the heroes of the piece talk more like us Grub-street scribblers, than in a style confonant to persons of gravity and importance in the state. It was easy to demonstrate the cause, and the sole cause, of that rife in the grand article and first necessary of life. It would appear that it had no more connexion with the war, than the moderate price to which all forts of grain were reduced, foon after the return of Lord Malmesbury, had with the state of politicks and the fate of his Lordship's treaty. have quite as good reason (that is, no reason at all) to attribute this abundance to the longer continuance of the war, as the gentlemen who personate leading members of parliament, have had for giving the enhanced price to that war, at a more early period of its duration. Oh, the folly of us poor creatures, who, in the midst of our distresses, or our escapes, are ready to claw or caress one another, upon matters that so seldom depend on our wisdom or our weakness, on our good or evil conduct towards each other.

An untimely shower, or an unseasonable drought; a frost too long continued, or too suddenly broken up, with rain and tempest; the blight of the spring, or the smut of the harvest; will do more to cause the distress of the belly, than all the contrivances of all statesmen can do to relieve it. Let government protect and encourage industry, secure property, repress violence, and discountenance fraud, it is all that they have to do. In other respects, the less they meddle in these affairs the better: the rest is in the hands of our Master and theirs. We are in a constitution of things wherein-" Modo fol nimius, modo corripit " imber." But I will push this matter no further. As I have faid a good deal upon it at various times during my publick fervice, and have lately written fomething on it, which may yet fee the light, I shall content myself now with observing, that the vigorous and laborious class of life has lately

lately got from the bon ton of the humanity of this day, the name of the "labouring poor." We have heard many plans for the relief of the " labouring poor." This puling jargon is not as innocent as it is foolish. In meddling with great affairs, weakness is never innoxious. Hitherto the name of poor (in the fense in which it is used to excite compassion) has not been used for those who can, but for those who cannot labour—for the sick and infirm; for orphan infancy; for languishing and decrepid age: but when we affect to pity as poor, those who must labour or the world cannot exist. we are trifling with the condition of mankind. is the common doom of man that he must eat his bread by the fweat of his brow, that is, by the fweat of his body, or the fweat of his mind. If this toil was inflicted as a curse, it is as might be expected from the curses of the Father of all Bleflingsit is tempered with many alleviations, many comforts. Every attempt to fly from it, and to refuse the very terms of our existence, becomes much more truly a curse, and heavier pains and penalties fall upon those who would clude the tasks which are put upon them by the great Master Workman of the World, who in his dealings with his creatures fympathizes with their weakness, and speaking of a creation wrought by mere will out of nothing, speaks of six days of labour and one of rest. I do not call a healthy young man, chearful in his mind,

mind, and vigorous in his arms, I cannot call fuch a man, poor; I cannot pity my kind as a kind, merely because they are men. This affected pity, only tends to dissatisfy them with their condition, and to teach them to seek resources where no resources are to be found, in something else than their own industry, and frugality, and sobriety. Whatever may be the intention (which, because I do not know, I cannot dispute) of those who would discontent mankind by this strange pity, they act towards us in the consequences, as if they were our worst enemies.

In turning our view from the lower to the higher classes, it will not be necessary for me to shew at any length that the stock of the latter, as it consists in their numbers, has not yet suffered any material diminution. I have not seen, or heard it asserted: I have no reason to believe it: there is no want of officers, that I have ever understood, for the new ships which we commission, or the new regiments which we raise. In the nature of things it is not with their persons, that the higher classes principally pay their contingent to the demands of war. There is another, and not less important, part which rests with almost exclusive weight upon them. They furnish the means,

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[&]quot; Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,

[&]quot; In all her equipage."

Not that they are exempt from contributing also by their personal service in the fleets and armies of their country. They do contribute, and in their full and fair proportion, according to the relative proportion of their numbers in the community. They contribute all the mind that actuates the whole machine. The fortitude required of them, is very different from the unthinking alacrity of the common foldier, or common failor, in the face of danger and death; it is not a passion, it is not an impulse, it is not a fentiment; it is a cool, steady, deliberate principle, always present, always equable; having no connection with anger; tempering honour with prudence; incited, invigorated, and fustained by a generous love of fame; informed, moderated and directed by an enlarged knowledge of its own great publick ends; flowing in one blended stream from the opposite sources of the heart and the head; carrying in itself its own commission, and proving its title to every other command, by the first and most difficult command, that of the bosom in which it resides: it is a fortitude, which unites with the courage of the field the more exalted and refined courage of the council; which knows, as well to retreat as to advance; which can conquer as well by delay, as by the rapidity of a march, or the impetuolity of an attack; which can be, with Fabius, the black cloud that lowers on the tops of the mountains, or with Scipio, the thunderbolt of war; which undifmayed

by false shame, can patiently endure the severest trial that a gallant spirit can undergo, in the taunts and provocations of the enemy, the fuspicions, the cold respect, and "mouth-honour" of those, from whom it should meet a cheerful obedience; which undisturbed by false humanity, can calmly assume that most awful moral responsibility of deciding, when victory may be too dearly purchased by the loss of a fingle life, and when the safety and glory of their country may demand the certain facrifice of thousands. Different stations of command may call for different modifications of this fortitude, but the character ought to be the same in all. never, in the most "palmy state" of our martial renown, did it shine with brighter lustre, than in the present fanguinary and ferocious hostilities, whereever the British arms have been carried. But, in this most arduous, and momentous conflict, which from its nature should have roused us to new and unexampled efforts, I know not how it has been, that we have never put forth half the strength, which we have exerted in ordinary wars. fatal battles, which have drenched the continent with blood, and shaken the system of Europe to pieces, we have never had any confiderable army of a magnitude to be compared to the least of those by which, in former times, we so gloriously afferted our place as protectors, not oppressors, at the head of the great commonwealth of Europe. We

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have never manfully met the danger in front: and when the enemy, resigning to us our natural dominion of the ocean, and abandoning the defence of his distant possessions to the infernal energy of the destroying principles, which he had planted there for the subversion of the neighbouring colonies, drove forth by one fweeping law of unprecedented despotism, his armed multitudes on every fide, to overwhelm the countries and states, which had for centuries stood the firm barriers against the ambition of France; we drew back the arm of our military force, which had never been more than half raifed to oppose him. From that time we have been combating only with the other arm of our naval power; the right arm of England I admit; but which struck almost unresisted, with blows, that could never reach the heart of the hoftile mischief. From that time, without a single effort to regain those outworks, which ever till now we fo strenuously maintained, as the strong frontier of our own dignity and fafety, no lefs than the liberties of Europe; with but one feeble attempt to fuccour those brave, faithful, and numerous allies, whom for the first time fince the days of our Edwards and Henrys, we now have in the bosom of France itself; we have been intrenching, and fortifying, and garrifoning ourselves at home: we have been redoubling fecurity on fecurity, to protect ourselves from invasion, which has now first bccome

become to us a serious object of alarm and terrour. Alas! the few of us, who have protracted life in any measure near to the extreme limits of our short period, have been condemned to fee strange things; new fystems of policy, new principles, and not only new men, but what might appear a new species of I believe that any person who was of age to take a part in publick affairs forty years ago (if the intermediate space of time were expunged from his memory) would hardly credit his fenfes, when he should hear from the highest authority, that an army of two hundred thousand men was kept up in this island, and that in the neighbouring island there were at least fourfcore thousand more. when he had recovered from his furprife on being told of this army, which has not its parallel, what must be his astonishment to be told again, that this mighty force was kept up for the mere purpose of an inert and passive defence, and that, in its far greater part, it was disabled by its constitution and very effence, from defending us against an enemy by any one preventive stroke, or any one operation of active hostility? What must his reslections be, on learning further, that a fleet of five hundred men of war, the best appointed, and to the full as ably commanded as this country ever had upon the fea, was for the greater part employed in carrying on the same system of unenterprising defence? What must be the sentiments and feelings Вbз

of one who remembers the former energy of England, when he is given to understand, that these two islands, with their extensive, and every where vulnerable coast, should be considered as a garrifoned fea-town; what would fuch a man, what would any man think, if the garrison of so strange a fortress should be such, and so feebly commanded, as never to make a fally; and that, contrary to all which has hitherto been feen in war, an infinitely inferiour army, with the shattered relicks of an almost annihilated navy, ill found, and ill manned, may with fafety beliege this superiour garrison, and without hazarding the life of a man, ruin the place, merely by the menaces and false appearances of an attack? Indeed, indeed, my dear friend, I look upon this matter of our defensive fystem as much the most important of all considerations at this moment. It has oppressed me with many anxious thoughts, which, more than any bodily distemper, have funk me to the condition, in which you know that I am. Should it pleafe Providence to restore to me, even the late weak remains of my strength, I propose to make this matter the subject of a particular discussion. mean here to argue, that the mode of conducting the war on our part, be it good or bad, has prevented even the common havock of war in our population, and especially among that class, whose duty and privilege of superiority it is, to lead the

way amidst the perils and slaughter of the field of battle.

The other causes, which sometimes affect the numbers of the lower classes, but which I have shewn not to have existed to any such degree during this war, - penury, cold, hunger, nakedness, do not easily reach the higher orders of fociety. I do not dread for them the flightest taste of these calamities from the diffress and pressure of the war. They have much more to dread in that way from the confiscations, the rapines, the burnings, and the maffacres that may follow in the train of a peace, which shall establish the devastating and depopulating principles and example of the French ' regicides, in fecurity, and triumph and dominion. In the ordinary course of human affairs, any check to population among men in ease and opulence, is less to be apprehended from what they may suffer, than from what they enjoy. Peace is more likely to be injurious to them in that respect than war. The excesses of delicacy, repose, and satiety, are as unfavourable as the extremes of hardfhip, toil, and want, to the increase and multiplication of our kind. Indeed, the abuse of the bounties of nature, much more furely than any partial privation of them, tends to intercept that precious boon of a fecond and dearer life in our progeny, which was bestowed in the first great command to man from the Allgracious Giver of all, whose name be bleffed, whe-Вba ther

ther he gives or takes away. His hand, in every page of his book, has written the lesson of moderation. Our physical well-being, our moral worth, our social happiness, our political tranquillity, all depend on that control of all our appetites and passions, which the ancients designed by the cardinal virtue of temperance.

The only real question to our present purpose, with regard to the higher classes, is, how stands the account of their stock, as it consists in wealth of every description? Have the burthens of the war compelled them to curtail any part of their former expenditure; which, I have before observed, affords the only standard of estimating property as an object of taxation? Do they enjoy all the same conveniencies, the same comforts, the same elegancies, the luxuries, in the same, or in as many different modes as they did before the war?

In the last eleven years, there have been no less than three solemn inquiries into the sinances of the kingdom, by three different committees of your house. The first was in the year 1786. On that occasion, I remember, the report of the committee was examined, and sifted, and bolted to the bran, by a gentleman whose keen and powerful talents I have ever admired. He thought there was not sufficient evidence to warrant the pleasing representation, which the committee had made, of our national prosperity. He did not believe, that our publick

publick revenue could continue to be fo productive, as they had assumed. He even went the length of recording his own inferences of doubt, in a fet of resolutions, which now stand upon your journals. And perhaps the retrospect, on which the report proceeded, did not go far enough back, to allow any fure and fatisfactory average for a ground of folid calculation. But what was the event? When the next committee fate in 1791, they found, that, on an average of the last four years, their predecessors had fallen short in their estimate of the permanent taxes, by more than three hundred and forty thousand pounds a year. Surely then if I can show, that in the produce of those same taxes, and more particularly of such as affect articles of luxurious use and consumption, the four years of the war have equalled those four years of peace, flourishing, as they were, beyond the most fanguine speculations, I may expect to hear no more of the distress occasioned by the war.

The additional burdens which have been laid on fome of those same articles, might reasonably claim some allowance to be made. Every new advance of the price to the consumer, is a new incentive to him to retrench the quantity of his consumption; and if, upon the whole, he pays the same, his property computed by the standard of what he voluntarily pays, must remain the same. But I am wil-

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ling to forego that fair advantage in the inquiry. I am willing that the receipts of the permanent taxes which existed before January 1793, should be compared during the war, and during the period of peace which I have mentioned. I will go further. Complete accounts of the year 1791 were separately laid before your house. I am ready to stand by a comparison of the produce of sour years up to the beginning of the year 1792, with that of the war. Of the year immediately previous to hostilities, I have not been able to obtain any perfect documents; but I have seen enough to satisfy me, that although a comparison, including that year, might be less favourable, yet it would not essentially injure my argument.

You will always bear in mind, my dear fir, that I am not confidering whether, if the common enemy of the quiet of Europe had not forced us to take up arms in our own defence, the spring-tide of our prosperity might not have flowed higher than the mark at which it now stands. That consideration is connected with the question of the justice and the necessity of the war. It is a question which I have long since discussed. I am now endeavouring to ascertain whether there exists, in fact, any such necessity as we hear every day afferted, to surnish a miserable pretext for counselling us to surrender, at discretion, our conquests, our honour,

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our dignity, our very independence, and, with it, all that is dear to man. It will be more than fufficient for that purpose, if I can make it appear that we have been stationary during the war. What then will be said, if, in reality, it shall be proved that there is every indication of increased and increasing wealth, not only poured into the grand refervoir of the national capital, but disfused through all the channels of all the higher classes, and giving life and activity, as it passes, to the agriculture, the manufactures, the commerce, and the navigation of the country?

The finance committee, which has been appointed in this fession, has already made two reports. Every conclusion that I had before drawn, as you know, from my own observation, I have the satisfaction of feeing there confirmed by that great publick authority. Large as was the fum, by which the committee of 1791 found the estimate of 1786 to have been exceeded in the actual produce of four years of peace, their own estimate has been exceeded, during the war, by a fum more than onethird larger. The fame taxes have yielded more than half a million beyond their calculation. They yielded this, notwithstanding the stoppage of the distilleries, against which, you may remember, I privately remonstrated. With an allowance for that defalcation, they have yielded fixty thousand pounds annually above the actual average of the preceding preceding four years of peace. I believe this to have been without parallel in all former wars. If regard be had to the great and unavoidable burthens of the present war, I am consident of the fact.

But let us descend to particulars. The taxes, which go by the general name of affeffed taxes, comprehend the whole, or nearly the whole domeftick establishment of the rich. They include fome things, which belong to the middling, and even to all, but the very lowest, classes. They now consist of the duties on houses and windows, on male fervants, horses, and carriages. They did also extend to cottages, to female fervants, waggons, and carts used in husbandry, previous to the year 1702; when, with more enlightened policy, at the moment that the possibility of war could not be out of the contemplation of any statesman, the wisdom of parliament confined them to their present objects. fhall give the gross affestment for five years, as I find it in the appendix to the fecond report of your committee.

2791 ending 5th April	1792		 	£. 1,706,334
7792	1793		 	1,585,291
1793	1794		 	1,597,623
1794	1795		 	1,608,196
1795	1796	-	 	1,625,874

Here will be seen a gradual increase during the whole

whole progress of the war: and if I am correctly informed, the rise in the last year, after every deduction that can be made, affords the most confoling and encouraging prospect. It is enormously out of all proportion.

There are some other taxes, which seem to have a reference to the same general head. The prefent minister, many years ago, subjected bricks and tiles to a duty under the excise. It is of little confequence to our present consideration; whether these materials have been employed in building more commodious, more elegant, and more magnificent habitations, or in enlarging, decorating, and remodelling those, which fusficed for our plainer ancestors. During the first two years of the war, they paid fo largely to the publick revenue, that in 1794 a new duty was laid upon them, which was equal to one half of the old, and which has produced upwards of 165,000l. in the last three years. Yet notwithstanding the pressure of this additional weight*, there has been an actual augmentation

BRICKS

[•] This and the following tables on the same construction are compiled from the reports of the sinance committee in 1791 and 1797, with the addition of the separate paper laid before the house of commons, and ordered to be printed on the 7th of February 1792.

in the confumption. The only two other articles which come under this description, are, the stampduty on gold and silver plate, and the customs on glass plates. This latter is now, I believe, the single

Yrs. of Peace.	BRICKS AND TILES. 1787 £. 94,521 \$ 1793 £. 122,975 1788 96,278 \$ 1794 106,811 1789 91,773 \$ 1795 83,804 1790 104,409 \$ 1796 94,668					
	£. 386,981 £. 408,258	Increase to 1790 £. 31,277 licrease to 1791 £. 416				
	PLATE.					
Yrs. of Peace.	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Increase to 1790 £. 16,789 Increase to 1798 £. 7,023				
	1/91 - 3-13-5 + 115.10 1/91 X, 931/3+	£ 119-3				
GLASS PLATES.						
Yrs. of Peace.	1787 £. $\frac{1}{1798}$ 5.496 $\stackrel{!}{>}$ 1793 £. 5,655 5,456 1789 4.686 $\stackrel{!}{>}$ 1795 5.839 1790 6,008 $\stackrel{!}{>}$ 1796 8,871 £. 16,190 £. 25,821					
	1791 7,880 4 Yrs. to 1791 £. 24,070	Increase to 1791 £. 1,721				

instance

instance of costly furniture to be found in the catalogue of our imports. If it were wholly to vanish, I should not think we were ruined. Both the duties have risen, during the war, very considerably in proportion to the total of their produce.

We have no tax among us on the most necessary articles of food. The receipts of our Custom-house, under the heads of groceries, afford us, however, some means of calculating our luxuries of the table. The articles of tea, cossee, and cocoa-nuts, I would propose to omit, and to take them in stead from the excise, as best shewing what is consumed at home. Upon this principle, adding them all together (with the exception of sugar, for a reason which I shall afterwards mention) I find that they have produced, in one mode of comparison, upwards of 272,000/., and in the other mode, upwards of 165,000/. more during the war than in peace*. An additional duty was also

* GROCERIES.

يم	1788	167,389 133,191 142,871 156,311	of W	1793 1794 1795 1796	£. 124,655 195.840 268,242 159,826	
	_	236,727		to 1791	£. 688,563 £. 669.100	Incresse to 1790 £. 88,801 Increase to 1791 £. 19,463

TEA.

laid in 1795, on tea, another on coffee, and a third on raisins; an article, together with currants, of much more extensive use, than would readily be imagined. The balance in favour of our argument would have been much enhanced, if our coffee and fruit ships from the Mediterranean had arrived, last year, at their usual season. They do not appear in these accounts. This was one consequence

TEA. 1793 £. 477,644 1794. 467,132 £. 424,144 426,660 1789 539.575 1795 507,518 417,636 1795 526,307 Increase to 1790 £. 1,808,114 £. 1,978,601 £. 170,486 Increase to 1791 1791 - 448,709 4 Yrs. to 1791 £. 1,832,680 £. 145,921

The additional duty imposed in 1795, produced in that year £. 137,656, and in 1796 £. 200, 107.

COFFEE AND COCOA NUTS.

The additional duty of 1795 in that year gave \mathcal{L} . 16,775, and in 1796 \mathcal{L} . 15,319.

arising

arifing (would to God, that none more afflicting to Italy, to Europe, and the whole civilized world had arifen!) from our impolitick and precipitate defertion of that important maritime station. As to sugar,* I have excluded it from the groceries, because the account of the customs is not a perfect criterion of the consumption, much having been re-exported to the north of Europe, which used to be supplied by France; and in the official papers which I have followed, there are no materials to surnish grounds for computing this re-exportation. The increase on the face of our entries is immense during the four years of war, little short of thirteen hundred thousand pounds.

The increase of the duties on beer has been regularly progressive, or nearly so, to a very large

*SUGAR.

There was a new duty on Sugar in 1791, which produced in 1794 £.234,292, in 1795 £.206,932, and in 1796 £.245,024. It is not clear from the report of the Committee, whether the additional duty is included in the account given about.

Vol. VIII.

Cc

amount.

amount.* It is a good deal above a million, and is more than equal to one-eighth of the whole produce. Under this general head, some other liquors are included,—cyder, perry, and mead, as well as vinegar,

	•	*BEER,	&c.	
Yrs, of Peace.	1787 £.1,761 1788 1,705 1789 1,742 1790 1,858	,429 \ \frac{1}{1793} ,199 \ \frac{1}{1794} ,514 \ \frac{1}{1795} ,043 \ \frac{1}{1796}	£.2,043,902 2,082,053 1,931,101 2,294,377	Increase to 1700
	£. 7,067	,185 0,478 4¥15. to 1791		£ 284,248
		WINE	Σ.	-
Yrs. of Peace.	17 ³ 7 £. 219 17 ⁸⁸ 215 17 ⁸ 9 252 1790 308	,578 💆 1794	£. 222,887 283,644 317,072 187,818	
	£. 996	.785 .549 4 Yrs. to 1791	(. 1,011,421 (.1,113,400	Decrease to 1791

QUANTITY IMPORTED.

ĕ	1787	Tons 29,978	ar.	1793	Tons 22,788
E.	1788	25.442	*	1794	Tons 22,788 27,868
•	1789 1790	27,414	3	1795	32,033
Ę	1790	29,182	, E	1796	19,079

The additional duty of 1795 produced that year £.730,871, and in 1796 £.394,686. A fecond additional duty which produced £.98,165 was laid in 1796.

SWEETS.

vinegar, and verjuice; but these are of very trifling confideration. The excise duties on wine, having funk a little during the two first years of the war, were rapidly recovering their level again. In 179ζ, a heavy additional duty was imposed upon them, and a fecond in the following year; yet being compared with four years of peace to 1700, they actually exhibit a fmall gain to the revenue. And low as the importation may feem in 1796, when contrasted with any year since the French treaty in 1787, it is still more than 3000 tons above the average importation for three years previous to that I have added sweets, from which our factitious wines are made; and I would have added spirits, but that the total alteration of the duties in 1789, and the recent interruption of our distillerics, rendered any comparison impracticable.

		•	SWEET	rs.	
Yrs. of Peace.	1787 1788 1789 1790	£. 11,167 7,375 7,202 4,953	H 1793 M 1794 0 1795 1796	£. 11,016 10,612 13,321 15,050	Increase to 1790
	1791	£. 30,697 13,282	4 Yrs. to 1791	£. 49,990 £. 32,812	£. 19,302 Increase to 1791 £. 17,178

In 1795 an additional duty was laid on this article, which produced that year £.5,679, and in 1796 £.9,443, and in 1796 a fecond to commence on the 20th of June; its produce in that year was £.2,325.

C c 2 The

The ancient staple of our island, in which we are clothed, is very imperfectly to be traced on the books of the Custom-house: but I know, that our woollen manufactures flourish. I recollect to have feen that fact very fully established, last year, from the registers kept in the West-Riding of Yorkshire. This year, in the west of England, I received a fimilar account, on the authority of a respectable clothier, in that quarter, whose testimony can less be questioned, because, in his political opinions, he is adverse, as I understand, to the continuance of the war. The principal articles of female drefs, for some time past, have been muslins and callicoes.* These elegant fabricks of our own looms in the east, which serve for the remittance of our own revenues, have lately been imitated at home, with improving fuccefs, by the ingenious and enterprifing manufacturers of Manchester, Paisley, and Glasgow. At the same time the importa-

* MUSLINS AND CALLICOES.

This table begins with 1788. The net produce of the preceding year is not in the report whence the table is taken.

tion

tion from Bengal has kept pace with the extenfion of our own dexterity and industry; while the fale of our * printed goods, of both kinds, has been with equal steadiness advanced, by the taste and execution of our designers and artists. Our woollens and cottons, it is true, are not all for the home market. They do not distinctly prove what is my prefent point, our own wealth by our own expence. I admit it: we export them in great and growing quantities: and they, who croak themselves hoarse about the decay of our trade, may put as much of this account, as they chuse, to the creditor side of money received from other countries in payment for British skill and labour. They may settle the items to their own liking, where all goes to demonftrate our riches. I shall be contented here, with whatever they will have the goodness to leave me,

* PRINTED GOODS.

These duties for 1787, are blended with several others. The proportion of printed goods to other articles for sour years, was found to be one-fourth. The proportion is here taken.

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and

and pass to another entry, which is less ambiguous; I mean that of filk.* The manufactory itself is a forced plant. We have been obliged to guard it from foreign competition by very strict prohibitory laws. What we import, is the raw and prepared material, which is worked up in various ways, and worn in various shapes by both sexes. After what we have just seen, you will probably be surprised to learn, that the quantity of filk, imported during the war, has been much greater, than it was previously in peace; and yet we must all remember to our mortification, that feveral of our filk ships fell a prey to citizen admiral Richery. You will hardly expect me to go through the tape and thread, and all the other finall wares of haberdashery and millinery to be gleaned up among our imports. I shall make one observation, and with great satisffaction, respecting them. They gradually diminish, as our manufactures of the same description fpread into their places; while the account of orna-

		×	*SILK	.	
Y . of Peace.	1787 1788 1789 1790	£. 159.912 123,998 157,730 212 522	1793 1794 1795 1796	£. 209.915 221,306 210,725 221,007	Yearraft to about
		£. 654.162		£. 862,955	Increase to 1790 £. 208,793 Increase to 1791
	1791	£.379.128	4 Yrs. to 1791	£.773,378	£. 89,577

mental

mental articles which our country does not produce, and we cannot wish it to produce, continues, upon the whole, to rise, in spite of all the caprices of fancy and fashion. Of this kind are the different furs* used for muss, trimmings and linings, which, as the chief of the kind, I shall particularize. You will find them below.

The diversions of the higher classes form another, and the only remaining head of inquiry into their expences. I mean those diversions which distinguish the country and the town life; which are visible and tangible to the statesman; which have some publick measure and standard. And here, when I look to the report of your committee, I for the sirst time, perceive a failure. It is clearly so. Whichever way I reckon the four years of peace, the old tax on the sports of the sield has

			* FUR	LS.	-
Yrs. of Peace	1787 1788 1789	£. 3.463 2.957 1,151	of W 179	3,353 3,266	•
×	1790	3.328	÷ 179	7 1)	
		£. 10,899		£. 15.586	Increase to 1790 £. 4,687 Increase is 1791
	1 791	£. 5.731	4 Yrs. to 179	£. 13,167	€ 2,419

The skins here selected from the Custom house accounts are, Black Bear, Ordinary Fox, Marten, Mink, Musquash, Otter, Raccoon, and Wolf.

C c 4

certainly

certainly proved deficient fince the war. The fame money, however, or nearly the fame, has been paid to government; though the same number of individuals have not contributed to the payment. An additional tax was laid in 1791, and, during the war, has produced upwards of 61,000l.; which is about 4000l. more than the decrease of the old tax, in one scheme of comparison; and about 4000l. less, in the other scheme. I might remark that the amount of the new tax, in the feveral years of the war, by no means bears the proportion, which it ought, to the old. There feems to be fome great irregularity, or other, in the receipt: but I do not think it worth while to examine into the argument. I am willing to suppose, that many, who, in the idleness of peace, made war upon partridges, hares, and pheafants, may now carry more noble arms against the enemies of their country. Our political adversaries may do, what they please, with that concession. They are welcome to make the most of it. I am sure of a very handsome set-off in the other branch of expence; the amusements of a town-life.

There is much gaiety, and dissipation, and profusion, which must escape and disappoint, all the arithmetick of political economy. But the theatres are a prominent feature. They are established through every part of the kingdom, at a cost unknown till our days. There is hardly a provincial capital,

capital, which does not possess, or which does not aspire to possess, a theatre-royal. Most of them engage, for a short time at a vast price, every actor or actress of name in the metropolis; a distinction, which, in the reign of my old friend Garrick, was confined to very few. The dreffes, the fcenes, the decorations of every kind, I am told, are in a new style of splendour, and magnificence; whether to the advantage of our dramatick taste, upon the whole, I very much doubt. It is a show, and a spectacle, not a play, that is exhibited. This is undoubtedly in the genuine manner of the Augustan age, but in a manner, which was censured by one of the best poets and criticks of that or any age:

——migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos, & guadia vana:
Quatuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas,
Dum fugiunt equitam turmæ, peditumque catervæ.—

I must interrupt the passage, most fervently to deprecate and abominate the sequel,

Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis.

I hope, that no French fraternization, which the relations of peace and amity with fystematised regicide, would assuredly, sooner or later, draw after them, even if it should overturn our happy constitution

tution itself, could so change the hearts of Englishmen, as to make them delight in representations and processions, which have no other merit than that of degrading and insulting the name of royalty. But good taste, manners, morals, religion, all sly, wherever the principles of Jacobinism enter: and we have no safety against them but in arms.

The proprietors, whether in this they follow or lead what is called the town, to furnish out these gaudy and pompous entertainments, must collect so much more from the publick. It was but just before the breaking out of hostilities, that they levied for themselves the very tax, which, at the close of the American war, they represented to lord North, as certain ruin to their affairs to demand for the state. The example has fince been imitated by the managers of our Italian opera. Once during the war, if not twice (I would not willingly miftate any thing, but I am not very accurate on these subjects) they have raised the price of their fubscription. Yet I have never heard, that any lasting distatisfaction has been manifested, or that their houses have been unufually and constantly On the contrary, all the three theatres have been repeatedly altered, and refitted, and enlarged, to make them capacious of the crowds, that nightly flock to them; and one of those huge and lofty piles, which lifts its broad fhoulders in gigantick pride, almost emuleus of the temples of God, has been reared from the foundation at a charge of more than fourfcore thousand pounds, and yet remains a naked, rough, unsightly heap.

I am afraid, my dear fir, that I have tired you with these dull, though important details. are upon a subject, which, like some of a higher nature, refuses ornament, and is contented with conveying instruction. I know, too, the obstinacy of unbelief, in those perverted minds, which have no delight, but in contemplating the supposed diffress, and predicting the immediate ruin, of their country. These birds of evil presage, at all times, have grated our ears with their melancholy fong; and by fome strange fatality or other, it has generally happened, that they have poured forth their loudest and deepest lamentations, at the periods of our most abundant prosperity. Very early in my publick life, I had occasion to make myself a little acquainted with their natural history. My first political tract in the collection, which a friend has made of my publications, is an answer to a very gloomy picture of the state of the nation, which was thought to have been drawn by a statesman of fome eminence in his time. That was no more than the common spleen of disappointed ambition: in the present day, I fear, that too many are actuated by a more malignant and dangerous spirit, They hope, by depressing our minds with a despair of our means and refources, to drive us, trembling and unresisting, into the toils of our enemies, with whom.

whom, from the beginning of the revolution in France, they have ever moved in strict concert and co-operation. If with the report of your finance committee in their hands, they can still affect to despond, and can still succeed, as they do, in spreading the contagion of their pretended fears, among well-disposed, though weak men; there is no way of counteracting them, but by fixing them down to particulars. Nor must we forget, that they are unwearied agitators, bold affertors, dexterous fophisters. Proof must be accumulated upon proof, to filence them. With this view I shall now direct our attention to some other striking and unerring indications of our flourishing condition; and they will, in general, be derived from other fources, but equally authentick; from other reports and proceedings of both houses of parliament, all which unite with wonderful force of confent in the fame general refult. Hitherto we have feen the fuperfluity of our capital discovering itself only in procuring fuperfluous accommodation and enjoyment, in our houses, in our furniture, in our establishments, in our eating and drinking, our clothing, and our publick diversions: we shall now see it more beneficially employed in improving our territory itself: we shall see part of our present opulence, with provident care, put out to usury for posterity.

To what ultimate extent, it may be wife or practicable, to push inclosures of common and waste

waste lands, may be a question of doubt, in some points of view: but no person thinks them already carried to excess; and the relative magnitude of the fums, laid out upon them, gives us a standard of estimating the comparative situation of the landed interest. Your house, this session, appointed a committee on waste lands, and they have made a report by their chairman, an honourable baronet, for whom the minister the other day, (with very good intentions, I believe, but with little real profit to the publick) thought fit to erect a board of agriculture. The account, as it stands there, appears fufficiently favourable. The greatest number of inclosing bills, passed in any one year of the last peace, does not equal the fmallest annual numberin the war; and those of the last year exceed, by more than one half, the highest year of peace. But what was my furprise, on looking into the late report of the fecret committee of the lords, to find a list of these bills during the war, differing in every year, and * larger on the whole, by nearly

INCLOSURE BILLS.

i	1789			33	Ä	1793			60
ğ	1790			25	35	1794			73
9	1791			40		1795			77
ž	1793.			40	×	1796	-		72
	1						-	,	
	138							;	283
			-	-				-	

^{*} Report of the Lords' Committee of Secrecy, ordered to be printed, 28th April 1797, Appendix 44.

one third! I have checked this account by the statute-book, and find it to be correct. What new brilliancy then does it throw over the prospect, bright as it was before! The number during the last four years, has more than doubled that of the four years immediately preceding; it has furpassed the five years of peace, beyond which the lords committees have not gone; it has even furpaffed (I have verified the fact) the whole ten years of peace. I cannot stop here. I cannot advance a fingle step in this inquiry, without being obliged to cast my eyes back to the period when I first knew the country. These bills, which had begun in the reign of queen Anne, had passed every year In greater or less numbers from the year 1723; yet in all that space of time, they had not reached the amount of any two years during the present war; and though foon after that time they rapidly increafed, still at the accession of his present majesty, they were far short of the number passed in the four years of hostilities.

In my first letter I mentioned the state of our inland navigation, neglected as it had been from the reign of king William to the time of my observation. It was not till the present reign, that the duke of Bridgewater's canal first excited a spirit of speculation and adventure in this way. This spirit shewed itself, but necessarily made no great progress, in the American war. When peace was restored, stored, it began of course to work with more senfible effect; yet in ten years from that event, the bills passed on that subject were not so many as from the year 1793 to the present session of par-From what I can trace on the statute. book, I am confident that all the capital expended in these projects during the peace, bore no degree of proportion, (I doubt on very grave confideration whether all that was ever fo expended was equal) to the money which has been raised for the same purposes, fince the war.* I know, that in the last four years of peace, when they rose regularly, and rapidly, the fums specified in the acts were not near one-third of the subsequent amount. In the last fession of parliament, the grand junction company. as it is called, having funk half a million, (of which I feel the good effects at my own door) applied to your house, for permission to subscribe half as much more among themselves. This grand junction is an inosculation of the grand trunk: and in the

*NAVIGATION	AND	TARTAT	DILLS
	AND	JANAL	DILLS.

ě	1739			3	ar.	1793			28
				8	X	1794			18
		-		10	•	1795			11
X	1792	-		9					
			•						*****
		_		30			_		69
Mon	ey raife	:d £. 2	,377,	200	 -		£.	7,415	,100
			*****	-					-

present.

present session, the latter company has obtained the authority of parliament, to float two hundred acres of land, for the purpose of forming a reservoir, thirty seet deep, two hundred yards wide at the head, and two miles in length; a lake which may almost vie with that which once fed the now obliterated canal of Languedock.

The present war is, above all others, (of which we have heard or read) a war against landed property. That description of property is in its nature the firm base of every stable government; and has been fo confidered, by all the wifest writers of the old philosophy, from the time of the Stagyrite, who observes that the agricultural class of all others is the least inclined to sedition. We find it to have been fo regarded, in the practical politicks of antiquity, where they are brought more directly home to our understandings and bosoms in the history of Rome, and above all, in the writings of Cicero. The country tribes were always thought more refpectable, than those of the city. And if in our own history, there is any one circumstance to which, under God, are to be attributed the steady refistance, the fortunate iffue, and fober fettlement, of all our struggles for liberty, it is, that while the landed interest, instead of forming a separate body. as in other countries, has, at all times, been in close connection and union with the other great interests of the country, it has been spontaneously allowed

to lead and direct, and moderate all the rest. I cannot, therefore, but fee with fingular gratification, that during a war which has been eminently made for the destruction of the landed proprietors, as well as of priefts and kings, as much has been done, by publick works, for the permanent benefit of their stake in this country, as in all the rest of the current century, which now touches to its close. Perhaps, after this, it may not be necessary to refer to private observation; but I am satisfied, that in general, the rents of lands have been confiderably increased: they are increased very considerably indeed, if I may draw any conclusion from my own little property of that kind. I am not ignorant, however, where our publick burdens are most galling. But all of this class will consider, who they are that are principally menaced; how little the men of their description in other countries, where this revolutionary fury has but touched, have been found equal to their own protection; how tardy, and unprovided, and full of anguish is their flight, chained down as they are by every tie to the foil; how helpless they are, above all other men, in exile, in poverty, in need, in all the varieties of wretchedness; and then let them well weigh, what are the burdens, to which they ought not to submit for their own falvation.

Many of the authorities, which I have already adduced, or to which I have referred, may convey Vol. VIII. D d a competent

a competent notion of some of our principal manufactures. Their general state will be clear from that of our external and internal commerce, through which they circulate, and of which they are at once, the cause and effect. But the communication of the feveral parts of the kingdom with each other, and with foreign countries, has always been regarded as one of the most certain tests to evince the prosperous or adverse state of our trade in all its branches. Recourse has usually been had to the revenue of the post office with this view. I shall include the product of the tax which was laid in the last war, and which will make the evidence more conclusive, if it shall afford the same inference:-I allude to the post-horse duty, which Shews the personal intercourse within the kingdom as the post-office shews the intercourse by letters, both within and without. The first of these standards, then, exhibits an increase, according to my former schemes of comparison, from an eleventh to a twentieth part of the * whole duty. The post-

	* PO	ST _, HORSI	E DUTY.	
1787 1788 1789 1789	£. 169,410 204,659 170.554 181,155	1793 1794 1795 1796	£. 191,488 202,884 196,691 204,061	
1791	£. 725,778			Increase to 1790 £. 69,346 Increase to 1791 £. 40,122

office, gives still less consolation to those who are miserable, in proportion as the country feels no mifery. From the commencement of the war, to the month of April, 1796, the gross produce had increafed by nearly one fixth of the whole fum, which the state now derives from that fund. find that the year ending 5th of April, 1793, gave £.627,592, and the year ending at the same quarter 1796, £.750,637, after a fair deduction having been made for the alteration (which, you know, on grounds of policy I never approved) in your privilege of franking. I have feen no formal document subsequent to that period, but I have been credibly informed, there is very good ground to believe, that the revenue of the * post-office still continues

The above account is taken from a paper which was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 8th December, 1796. From the gross produce of the year ending 5th April, 1796, there has been deducted in that statement the sum of £.36,666, in consequence of the regulation on franking, which took place on the 5th May, 1795, and was computed at £.40,000 per ann. To shew an equal number of years, both of peace and war, the accounts of two preceding years are given in the following table, from a Report made since Mr. Burke's death by a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider the claims of Mr. Palmer, the late Comptroller General; and for still greater satisfaction, the number of letters, inwards and outwards, have been added, except for the year 1790-1791. The letter-book for that year is not to be found.

POST

continues to be regularly and largely upon the rife.

What is the true inference to be drawn from the annual number of bankruptcies, has been the occafion of much dispute. On one side, it has been considently urged as a sure symptom of a decaying trade: on the other side, it has been insisted, that it is a circumstance attendant upon a thriving trade; for that the greater is the whole quantity of trade, the greater of course must be the positive number of failures, while the aggregate success is still in the same proportion. In truth, the increase of the number, may arise from either of those causes. But all must agree in one conclusion, that, if the number diminishes, and at the same time, every other sort of evidence tends to shew an augmentation of trade, there can be no better in-

POST OFFICE.	Number of Letters			
Grots Revenue.	Inwards.	Cu wards.		
Apr. 1700—1791—575,079——				
1791-1792-585,432-	6,391,149	5,081,344		
	6,584,867	5,041,137		
1793-1794691,268	7,09+.77.7	6,537,234		
1794-1 95-705,319-		7.473,626		
1795-1796-750,037-	7,641,077	8,597,167		

From the last mentioned Report it appears that the accounts have not been completely and authentically made up, for the years ending 5th April, 1796 and 1797, but on the Receiver-General's book there is an increase of the latter year over the former, equal to something more than 5 per cent.

dication.

dication. We have already had very ample means of gathering, that the year 1796 was a very favourable year of trade, and in that year the number of bankruptcies was at least one fifth below the usual average. I take this from * the declaration of the lord chancellor in the house of lords. He professed to speak from the records of chancery; and he added another very striking fact, that on the property actually paid into his court (a very small part, indeed, of the whole property of the kingdom) there had accrued in that year a net surplus of eight hundred thousand pounds, which was so much new capital.

But the real fituation of our trade, during the whole of this war, deserves more minute investigation. I shall begin with that, which, though the least in consequence, makes perhaps the most impression on our fenses, because it meets our eyes in our daily walks;—I mean our retail trade. The exuberant display of wealth in our shops was the sight, which most amazed a learned foreigner of distinction, who lately resided among us: his expression, I remember, was, that "they seemed to be "bursting with opulence into the streets." The documents, which throw light on this subject, are not

Dd3

many;

^{*} In a debate, 30th December, 1796, on the return of Lord Malmesbury.—See Woodsall's Parliamentary Debates, voi. xiii. page 591.

many; but they all meet in the fame point: all concur in exhibiting an increase. The most material are the general licences * which the law requires to be taken out by all dealers in exciseable commodities. These seem to be subject to confiderable fluctuations. They have not been fo low in any year of the war, as in the years 1788 and 1789, nor ever so high in peace, as in the first year of the war. I should next state the licences to dealers in spirits and wine, but the change in them which took place in 1789 would give an unfair advantage to my argument. I shall therefore content myself with remarking, that from the date of that change the spirit licences kept nearly the same -level till the stoppage of the distilleries in 1795. If they dropped a little, and it was but little, the wine licences during the fame time, more than countervailed that loss to the revenue; and it is re-.markable with regard to the latter, that in the year .1796, which was the lowest in the excise duties on

٠,		* GE	Ŋeral L	ICENCES.	
Trs. of Peace.	1787 1788 1789	44,030 40,882 39,917 41,970	1793 1794 1795 1796	£. 45.568 42,129 43,350 41,190	
٠.	£ .	44,240	4 Yrs, to 1791	£. 170,237 £; 167,009	Increase to 1750 £ · 3,438 Increase to 1791 £ · 3,228

wine

wine itself, as well as in the quantity imported, more dealers in wine appear to have been licensed, than in any former year, excepting the first year of the war. This fact may raise some doubt, whether the consumption has been lessened so much as, I believe, is commonly imagined. The only other retail-traders, whom I found so entered as to admit of being selected, are tea-dealers, and sellers of gold and silver plate; both of whom seem to have multiplied very much in proportion to their aggregate number.* I have kept apart one set of licensed sellers, because I am aware, that our antagonists

		*D	EALERS I	N TEA.	
Yrs. of Peace.	1787 1788 1789 1790	£. 10,934 11,949 12,501 13,126	2 1793 M 1794 0 1795 2 1796	£. 13,939 14,315 13,956 14,830	Increase to 1790
	1791		4 Yrs. to 1791	£. 57,040 £. 51,497	£. 8,530 Increase to 1791 £. 5,543
		SEI	LLERS OF	PLATE.	
Yrs. of Peace.	1787 1788 1789 1790	£. 6,593 7,953 7,348 7,988	9 1793 M / 1794 0 1795 1796	£. 8,178 8,296 8,128 8,835	Increase to 1790
	1791	£. 29,882 - 8,327	, 4 Yes, to 1791	£.33,437 £.31,616	£. 3,555 Increase to 1791 £. 1,821

Dd4

may

may be inclined to triumph a little, when I name auctioneers and auctions. They may be disposed to confider it as a fort of trade, which thrives by the diftress of others. But if they will look at it a little more attentively, they will find their gloomy comfort vanish, The publick income from these licences, has rifen with very great regularity, through a feries of years, which all must admit to have been years of prosperity. It is remarkable too, that in the year 1793, which was the great year of bankruptcies, these * duties on auctioneers and auctions, fell below the mark of 1791; and in 1796, which year had one fifth less than the accustomed average of bankruptcies, they mounted at once beyond all former examples. In concluding this general head, will you permit me, my dear Sir, to bring to your notice an humble, but induftrious and laborious fet of chapmen, against whom the vengeance of your house has sometimes been

* AUCTIONS AND AUCTIONEERS.

irs. of Peace.	1787 178 8 1789 1790	£	53,993 52,024 53,156	irs. of War.	1793 1794 1795 1796	£. 70,004 82,659 86,890 109,594	
	1791	£	208,137	4 Yrs. t	••	£. 349 147 £. 230,146	Increase to 1790 £. 141,010 Increase to 1791 £. 119,001

levelle 1

levelled, with what policy I need not stay to inquire, as they have escaped without much injury.

* The hawkers and pedlers, I am assured, are still doing well, though from some new arrangements respecting them made in 1789, it would be difficult to trace their proceedings in any satisfactory manner.

When fuch is the vigour of our traffick in its minutest ramifications, we may be persuaded that the root and the trunk are sound. When we see the life-blood of the state circulate so freely through the capillary vessels of the system, we scarcely need inquire, if the heart performs its functions aright. But let us approach it; let us lay it bare, and watch the systole and diastole, as it now receives, and now pours forth the vital stream

* Since Mr. Burke's death, a fourth Report of the Committee of Finance has made its appearance. An account is there given from the Stamp-office of the gross produce of duties on Hawkers and Pedlers for four years of peace and four of war. It is therefore added in the manner of the other tables.

HAWKERS AND PEDLERS.

178 179 179 179	6,768 5 6,482	e,	1793 1794 1795 1796	£. 6,042 6,104 6,795 7,882
Increase	£. 25,330	• • •		£. 26,823 £. 1,493

through

through all the members. The port of London has always supplied the main evidence of the state of our commerce. I know, that amidst all the difficulties and embarraffments of the year 1793, from causes unconnected with, and prior to the war, the tonnage of ships in the Thames actually But I shall not go through a detail of official papers on this point. There is evidence which has appeared this very fession before your house, infinitely more forcible and impressive to my apprehension, than all the journals and ledgers of all the inspectors general from the days of Davenant. It is fuch as cannot carry with it any fort of fallacy. It comes, not from one set, but from many opposite sets of witnesses, who all agree in nothing else; witnesses of the gravest and most unexceptionable character, and who confirm what they fay, in the furest manner, by their conduct. . Two different bills have been brought in for improving the port of London. I have it from very good intelligence, that when the project was first suggested from necessity, there were no less than eight different plans, supported by eight different bodies of fubscribers. The cost of the least was estimated at two hundred thousand pounds, and of the most extensive, at twelve hundred thousand. between which the contest now lies, substantially agree (as all the others must have done) in the motives and reasons of the preamble: but I shall confine

fine myself to that bill which is proposed on the part of the mayor, aldermen, and common council. because I regard them as the best authority, and their language in itself is fuller and more precise. I certainly fee them complain of the "great delays, " accidents, damages, losses, and extraordinary exe pences, which are almost continually fustained, "to the hindrance and discouragement of com-" merce, and the great injury of the publick reve-" nue." But what are the causes to which they attribute their complaints? The first is, "THAT FROM " THE VERY GREAT AND PROGRESSIVE IN-"CREASE OF THE NUMBER AND SIZE OF " SHIPS AND OTHER VESSELS TRADING TO THE " PORT OF LONDON; the river Thames is, in ge-" neral, fo much crowded, that the navigation of a " confiderable part of the river is rendered tedious " and dangerous; and there is much want of room " for the fafe and convenient mooring of veffels, and confrant access to them." The second is of the same nature. It is the want of regulations and arrangements, never before found necessary, for expedition and facility. The third is of another kind, but to the same effect; "that the legal quays are too " confined, and there is not fufficient accommoda-"tion for the landing and shipping of cargoes." And the fourth and last is still different; they describe "the avenues to the legal quays," (which little more than a century fince, we great fire of London London opened and dilated beyond the measure of our then circumstances) to be now "much too "narrow and incommodious, for the great con-" course of carts and other carriages usually passing "and repassing there." Thus, our trade has grown too big for the ancient limits of art and nature. Our streets, our lanes, our shores, the river itself, which has fo long been our pride, are impeded, and obstructed, and choaked up by our riches. They are like our shops, "bursting with opulence." To these misfortunes, to these distresses and grievances alone, we are told it is to be imputed, that still more of our capital has not been pushed into the channel of our commerce, to roll back in its reflux still more abundant capital, and fructify the national treasury in its course. Indeed, my dear sir, when I have before my eyes this confentient testimony of the corporation of the city of London, the West India merchants, and all the other merchants who promoted the other plans, struggling and contending which of them shall be permitted to lay out their money in confonance with their testimony; I cannot turn aside to examine what one or two violent petitions, tumultuoufly voted by real or pretended liverymen of London, may have faid of the utter destruction and annihilation of trade.

This opens a subject, on which every true lover of his country, and at this crisis, every friend to the liberties of Europe, and of social order in every country,

country, must dwell and expatiate with delight. mean to wind up all my proofs of our aftonishing and almost incredible prosperity, with the valuable information given to the fecret committee of the Lords by the inspector-general. And here I am happy that I can administer an antidote to all defpondence, from the fame dispensary from which the first dose of poison was supposed to have come. The report of that committee is generally believed to have derived much benefit from the labours of the same noble Lord, who was said, as the author of the pamphlet in 1795, to have led the way in teaching us to place all our hope on that very experiment, which he afterwards declared in his place to have been from the beginning utterly without hope. We have now his authority to fay, that as far as our refources were concerned, the experiment was equally without necessity.

"It appears," as the Committee has very justly and fatisfactorily observed, "by the accounts of the value of the imports and exports for the last "twenty years, produced by Mr. Irving, that the demand for cash to be sent abroad" (which by the way, including the loan to the emperor, was nearly one third less sent to the continent of Europe than in the seven years war) "was greatly compensated by a very large balance of commerce in favour of this kingdom; greater than was ever known in any preceding period. The value of the exports

" of the last year amounted, according to the va-" luation on which the accounts of the inspector "general are founded, to 30,424,1841; which is " more than double what it was in any year of the " American war, and one third more than it was " on an average during the last peace, previous to "the year 1792; and though the value of the im-" ports to this country has, during the same peace, " greatly increased, the excess of the value of the " exports above that of the imports, which constitutes the balance of trade, has augmented even "in a greater proportion." These observations might perhaps be branched out into other points of view, but I shall leave them to your own active and ingenious mind. There is another and still more important light in which the inspector general's information may be feen; and that is, as affording a comparison of some circumstances in this war, with the commercial history of all our other wars in the present century.

In all former hostilities, our exports gradually declined in value, and then (with one single exception) ascended again, till they reached and passed the level of the preceding peace. But this was a work of time, sometimes more, sometimes less slow. In queen Anne's war, which began in 1702, it was an interval of ten years, before this was effected. Nine years only were necessary in the war of 1739, for the same operation. The seven years

war faw the period much shortened: hostilities began in 1755, and in 1758, the fourth year of the war, the exports mounted above the peace-mark. There was, however, a diftinguishing feature of that war, that our tonnage, to the very last moment, was in a state of great depression, while our commerce was chiefly carried on by foreign veffels. The American war was darkened with fingular and peculiar adversity. Our exports never came near to their peaceful elevation, and our tonnage continued with very little fluctuation, to fubfide lower and lower.* On the other hand, the present war. with regard to our commerce, has the white mark of as fingular felicity. If from internal causes, as well as the consequence of hostilities, the tide ebbed in 1793, it rushed back again with a bore in the following year; and from that time has continued to fwell, and run, every fuccessive year, higher and higher into all our ports. The value of our exports last year above the year 1792 (the mere increase of our commerce during the war) is equal to the average value of all the exports during the wars of William and Anne.

It has been already pointed out, that our imports have not kept pace with our exports; of course,

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^{*} This account is extracted from different parts of Mr. Chalmers' estimate. It is but just to mention, that in Mr. Chalmers' estimate, the sums are uniformly lower than those of the same year in Mr. Irving's account.

on the face of the account, the balance of trade, both positively and comparatively considered, must have been much more than ever in our favour. that early little tract of mine, to which I have already more than once referred, I made many obfervations on the usual method of computing that balance, as well as the usual objection to it, that the entries at the Custom-house were not always true. As you probably remember them I shall not repeat them here. On the one hand, I am not furprised that the same trite objection is perpetually renewed by the detractors of our national affluence; and on the other hand I am gratified in perceiving, that the balance of trade feems to be now computed in a manner much clearer, than it used to be, from those errours which I formerly noticed. The inspectorgeneral appears to have made his estimate with every possible guard and caution. His opinion is entitled to the greatest respect. It was in fubstance (I shall again use the words of the Report, as much better than my own) "That the "true balance of our trade, amounted, on a me-"dium of the four years preceding January 1796, " to upwards of 6,500,000l. per annum, exclusive " of the profits arising from our East and West "India trade, which he estimates at upwards of 4,000,000l. per annum; exclusive of the profits " derived from our fisheries." So that including the fisheries, and making a moderate allowance for the

the exceedings, which Mr. Irving himself supposes, beyond his calculation; without reckoning, what the publick creditors themselves pay to themselves, and without taking one shilling from the stock of the landed interest; our colonies, our oriental possessions, our skill and industry, our commerce, and navigation, at the commencement of this year, were pouring a new annual capital into the kingdom; hardly half a million short of the whole interest of that tremendous debt, from which we are taught to shrink in dismay, as from an overwhelming and intolerable oppression.

If then the real state of this nation is such as I have described, and I am only apprehensive, that you may think, I have taken too much pains to exclude all doubt on this question; if no class is lessened in its numbers, or in its stock, or in its conveniencies, or even its luxuries; if they build as many habitations, and as elegant and as commodious as ever, and furnish them with every chargeable decoration, and every prodigality of ingenious invention, that can be thought of by those who even encumber their necessities with supersluous accommodation; if they are as numerously attended; if their equipages are as felendid; if they regale at table with as much or more variety of plenty than ever; if they are clad in as expensive and changeful a diversity according to their tastes and modes; if they are not deterred from the pleasures of the YOL. VIII. field Еe

field by the charges, which government has wifely turned from the culture to the sports of the field; if the theatres are as rich and as well filled and greater, and at a higher price than ever; (and, what is more important than all) if it is plain from the treasures which are spread over the soil, or confided to the winds and the seas, that there are as many who are indulgent to their propenlities of parfimony, as others to their voluptuous defires, and that the pecuniary capital grows instead of diminishing; on what ground are we authorized to fay, that a nation, gamboling in an ocean of fuperfluity, is undone by want? With what face can we pretend, that they who have not denied any one gratification to any one appetite, have a right to plead poverty in order to famish their virtues, and to put their duties on short allowance? That they are to take the law from an imperious enemy, and can contribute no longer to the honour of their king, to the support of the independence of their country, to the falvation of that Europe, which, if it falls, must crush them with its gigantick ruins? How can they affect to fweat, and flagger, and groan under their burthens, to whom the mines of Newfoundland, richer than those of Mexico and Peru, are now thrown in as a make-weight in the scale of their exorbitant opulence? What excuse can they have to faint, and creep, and cringe, and prostrate themselves at the footftool

footftool of ambition and crime, who, during a short though violent struggle, which they have never supported with the energy of men, have amassed more to their annual accumulation, than all the well-husbanded capital, that enabled their ancestors, by long, and doubtful, and obstinate conflicts, to defend, and liberate, and vindicate the civilifed world? But I do not accuse the people of England. As to the great majority of the nation, they have done whatever in their feveral ranks, and conditions, and descriptions, was required of them by their relative fituations in fociety; and from those the great mass of mankind cannot depart, without the fubversion of all publick order. They look up to that government, which they obey that they may be protected. They ask to be led and directed by those rulers, whom Providence and the laws of their country have fet over them, and under their guidance to walk in the ways of fafety and They have again delegated the greatest trust, which they have to bestow, to those faithful representatives who made their true voice heard against the disturbers and destroyers of Europe. They fuffered, with unapproving acquiescence, solicitations, which they had in no shape defired, to an unjust and usurping power, whom they had never provoked, and whose hostile menaces they did not dread. When the exigencies of the publick fervice could only be met by their voluntary zeal, they E c 2

they started forth with an ardour, which outstripped the wishes of those, who had injured them by doubting, whether it might not be necessary to have recourse to compulsion. They have, in all things, reposed an enduring, but not an unreflecting confidence. That confidence demands a full return; and fixes a responsibility on the ministers entire and undivided. The people stands acquitted, if the war is not carried on in a manner fuited to its objects. If the publick honour is tarnished; if the publick safety suffers any detriment; the ministers, not the people, are to answer it, and they alone. Its armies, its navies, are given to them without stint or restriction. Its treasures are poured out at their feet. Its conftancy is ready to fecond all their efforts. They are not to fear a responsibility for acts of manly adventure. The responsibility which they are to dread, is, lest they should shew themsclves unequal to the expectation of a brave people. The more doubtful may be the constitutional and occonomical questions, upon which they have received fo marked a fupport, the more loudly they are called upon to support this great war, for the success of which their country is willing to superfede considerations of no slight importance. Where I fpeak of responsibility, I do not mean to exclude that species of it, which the legal powers of the country have a right finally to exact from those who abuse a publick trust; but high as this is, there

there is a responsibility which attaches on them, from which the whole legitimate power of this kingdom cannot absolve them; there is a responsibility to conscience and to glory; a responsibility to the existing world, and to that posterity, which men of their eminence cannot avoid for glory or for shame; a responsibility to a tribunal, at which, not only ministers, but kings and parliaments, but even nations themselves, must one day answer.

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